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THE WORLD REBUILT

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THE WORLD REBUILT

*The True Story
of Frank Buchman
and the men and women of
Moral Re-Armament*

By

PETER HOWARD



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Chapter One

MARXISTS FIND A NEW THINKING

WHAT makes a Communist ?
One grey day in a grey mining valley the men, as they trudged up the hill between the slagheaps towards the steel works, were singing. They sang because that day their houses were to become their own. Not long ago the Company had at last agreed to sell them their homes. To-day the final instalments were being handed over.

The men did not know that they were climbing the hill for the last time. That evening they were told that the steel mill was closing. The Company had decided to move the works down to the coast nearer to the ships which brought the iron ore from across the seas.

So the men of the valley were left without hope of employment, while the value of the houses they had bought fell almost to nothing.

If you ask the men and women of that town how their district got its name for revolutionary ardour, that is the story they tell. They learned to hate. They saw no other means of righting their wrongs than through the ideology which Marx and Engels, brooding over the cruel injustices of the industrial West, had brought to birth.

Injustice stirs men to action. When to this is added a philosophy which explains human history in terms of class struggle and asserts the inevitable victory of the oppressed, you see the forging of a force. Ambitious men,

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bitter men, idealists, intellectuals, men without hope and men with hate add themselves to it for their various reasons. But the strength of Communism in every land is its hard core of resolute and trained leaders, many of whom have suffered great injustices and who see in Communism their one hope of a better world for themselves and their children.

Can Communists be won to a new thinking and living?

This is the acid test. And it is a significant fact that Communists *are* accepting an ideology more radical in its demands, more satisfying in its life, and more certain in its promise of a new world than the ideology of Marx. This is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. Men of iron from the very furnace of European Communism, from the Ruhr and the Rhondda, the Red Belt of Paris and industrial Lombardy, Party members of twenty years' standing, they are turning to MRA in growing numbers. And they fight for it with the vigour and resource of trained revolutionaries.

I

What makes a Communist change?

For nearly a century the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Europe, has had steady Marxist indoctrination.

Here the gulf between wealth and poverty has been wide. Bitterness is deep and violent. Many of the workers in the Ruhr are trained shock-troopers in ideological warfare.

Between 1948 and 1950 there were hundreds of meetings on Moral Re-Armament in factories and trade union branches as well as in the provincial Parliaments of Western Germany. Millions have read about it in the newspapers or heard of it in frequent radio programmes;

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140,000 workers, trade union officials, industrial and political leaders have seen Moral Re-Armament plays in twenty-four cities.

One cold winter night a veteran Communist leader, Max Bladeck, took the chair at one of these trade union meetings. Bladeck is head of the works council of one of the largest collieries in the Ruhr. He is a small man, every inch a fighter, with sharp eyes, an intellectual forehead and a chest racked by silicosis. He has been twenty-five years a member of the Communist Party. The meeting was in a beer hall.

When the Moral Re-Armament men arrived, amid the smoke and the glasses and the lights, they found that Bladeck had arranged for some of the most skilful Communist speakers in his district to address and demolish them. Six Communists spoke one after the other.

They went on the attack. They spoke for an hour on the theme that in the heart of every capitalist is a Fascist and that Western nations are preparing the next world war. They quoted Marx on the need to change the system, and Stalin's dictum that the bourgeois had never yet put principle before profit. Pointing to the history of the Churches, they declared that Christianity had tried for 2,000 years to build a new world—and failed. Now it was their turn.

At this point the MRA men took the floor. One of their spokesmen, a worker from Lancashire, began by admitting that his own country, Britain, had sometimes made mistakes. The Germans acted as if they had never heard such a thing said by an Englishman before. Their interest was caught.

"Everybody," added this man, "wants to see the other fellow change. Every nation wants to see the other nation change. Yet everybody is waiting for the other

fellow to begin." They were listening now, and there were cries of "Hear! Hear!" all over the hall.

"*But*," the spokesman continued, "the best place to start is with yourself. Why not start with our own class, our own race, our own nation, and then carry it to the world?"

Other speakers dealt with changing the system. "Every decent man hates the social injustice and economic misery of the world," one of them said. "There is enough in the world for everyone's need but not for everyone's greed. If everybody cared enough and everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough? Just changing the system does not go far enough. Christians have often failed to live what they talk about, but the idea may still be right. Moral Re-Armament stands for the *full* dimension of change—social change, economic change, national change, international change, all based on personal change. Anything less is reactionary."

Then, through the smoky air, amid tense silence a shipyard worker from Clydeside declared: "Labour has never been so powerful and never been so divided. We have learned to split the atom. But we have not learned to unite humanity. The Labour movement has within it the seeds of its own defeat—unless it learns to change human nature. Human nature *can* be changed. It must be changed on a colossal scale—capitalists, Americans, British, yes, even Communists and Germans—all over the world. Then the classless society will appear. We won't have to wait for it till we are in our graves."

A Canadian industrialist was introduced. His changed attitude towards labour amazed the Communists. The meeting lasted for four hours. Not a man had left the hall.

Battles like this were fought daily in the Ruhr. Many questions were asked and answered. Week after week for

months on end the MRA men met the miners in their homes and in the pits. As a result hundreds of workers and their leaders went to Caux in Switzerland where the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament was in session. Among them went Bladeck and another veteran Communist, Paul Kurowski.

At Caux these men saw a living demonstration of an ideology based on change, change not for one class but for every class. "For twenty-five years I have sung the *Internationale* with all my heart and strength," said Kurowski, after some days there, "but this is the first time I have seen it lived."

They began to change. But change is never comfortable, whether for a Communist, a capitalist or anyone else. It means facing absolute moral standards. It will involve being different at home. It may call for a break with personal habits or long-cherished points of view.

Bladeck and Kurowski talked far into the night with each other and with the Moral Re-Armament men. They fought back with every shot in the Marxist locker. But always they were held by the affection of their new friends and by the relentless logic of the MRA ideology.

Finally Kurowski stated their conclusion: "Anyone who will not follow the absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love is a traitor to his class and to his nation."

Kurowski, whom thirteen years under Hitler had not shaken from his Communist allegiance, began to reassess Marxism in the light of the evidence of Caux. "I am beginning to see that the basic theories of Marxism are out of date," he said. "Its philosophy is built on German classical philosophy and fails to reckon with the important fact that human nature can be changed. Its economic theory is equally out of date, as we have attained many of

the things for which the workers were then striving and have now moved on from the industrial to the ideological age. Its tactic of class war is suicide, for it is bound to end in universal war between two groups and therefore lead to world destruction."¹

Meanwhile, back in the Ruhr, reports were received by the West German Communist Party that Bladeck and Kurowski were beginning to accept the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. The Party became alarmed. They sent one of their most trusted members, Willi Benedens, to get arguments against Bladeck, Kurowski and MRA.

Benedens was a district political secretary of the Communist Party. He had been elected Chairman for a Ruhr district of the proposed communist Socialist Unity Party—and it was on his initiative that Molotov protested when the Western Powers suppressed that party. Benedens had been removed from Hitler's air force because his convictions became suspect and had been sent into the infantry where he lost both legs.

What happened when he came to Caux? It can best be described in his own words. "I fought bitterly against my friends who went to Caux and who were officials of the Communist Party," said Benedens. "But when I came there I found the thing I had for years fought for—the classless society. I found there an ideology which led to social justice and satisfied the needs of the human heart. It is an idea that can solve the social problems of the West and lead to a solution between East and West, since Moral Re-Armament is not *against* but *for* something. It is *for* change in everyone everywhere in the world."

Willi Benedens backed his convictions by change in his own life, which is the hallmark of an effective ideological fighter. "I saw I had to change completely," said Bene-

¹ For Bladeck's conclusions, see page 151.

dens. "First, within my family, then in my relations with my neighbours and my colleagues in the mines. I was a great speaker about peace, but I could not get along with my fellow shop-stewards. At Caux I found a bridge from myself to my fellow men. Change is a platform on which people of all nations can find the way to each other."

Benedens, Kurowski and Bladeck returned to the Ruhr together. They were called before the Communist Party Executive. They gave a simple explanation. "We have found," they said, "an ideology greater than Communism."

The West German Communist Party was in a dilemma. For years the Leninist doctrine has been for Communism to infiltrate into the structure of society and change it. Yet here were men, not weaklings but the hard core of the Party, who went to Caux and themselves were changed.

Meanwhile, the three men had called a meeting of the Party stalwarts. In a description of this meeting they wrote, "The going was hot. But the longest speech has to stop some time. Ten men can sing together, but they cannot talk together. When ten men talk at once, you cannot tell what anyone is saying. When we spoke of Caux the loud voices became quieter. Soon they were all listening, silent and thoughtful. Our chairman is already so far advanced that you might think he had been at Caux himself."

In a formal letter to the Executive, Bladeck, Kurowski and Benedens recommended that the Party make itself conversant with "the world-revolutionising new idea" of Moral Re-Armament, quoted Marx and Engels to justify their course, stated that they had decided to change themselves "on reasonable and realistic grounds" and announced that they "already had changed many other Communists."

According to one of the members after a heated Party caucus, "At the end of two hours you would have thought that Moral Re-Armament was the only thing Marx had ever fought for, and that Moscow and everyone else up till now had never really understood him."

The official Communist newspaper in Western Germany, *Freies Volk*, on 6th October, 1949, came out with a major article written by the chairman of the Ruhr regional committee of the Party, Hugo Paul, on Moral Re-Armament. It said: "The dangerous activity of Moral Re-Armament has been underestimated by the District Executive and by the Regional Executive of the Party and has led to ideological uncertainties in sections of the Party These men from Caux have been recommending the Party to make itself conversant with the world-revolutionising new ideas of Moral Re-Armament."

The men from Caux stood firm. From Essen, Dortmund and other parts of the Ruhr seasoned Marxists joined them in their fight. One of the founders of the powerful Essen-Steele Communist Party, Hermann Stoffmehl, the Town Clerk of Alten-Essen, announced that he now believed MRA was the uniting ideology needed by the world. If the Communist Party would not accept it, he would not only leave the Party himself but a third of the local membership would go with him.

Finally, the West German Communist Party removed forty regional leaders of the Party, including Hugo Paul, who had written the article on MRA, for having "dealings with a contrary ideology." "Moral Re-Armament aims at the re-education of the human being and the reconciliation of the classes," said the Party's explanation, "and therefore must confuse fighters for class war."

The Executive of the Communist Party of Western

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Germany were summoned on 8th January, 1950, to a special conference in Düsseldorf at which they stated they were going to reorganise the entire Executive and Secretariat because it had been "tainted with an ideology inimical to the Party."

The *Manchester Guardian* on 8th February, 1950, under the heading "A New Communist Heresy—Moral Re-Armament," quoted the new Communist Party Chairman in the Ruhr, Herr Ledwohn, in referring to the recent purge of the entire executive body, as stating, "one of the most dangerous symptoms was the growing connections between Party members and the Moral Re-Armament movement."

Meanwhile, Bladeck, Kurowski and Benedens, the originators of this revolution, had won re-election to their works councils with increased majorities in the face of bitter attack.

II

Eight-year-old boys going down into the darkness of the mines to work twelve-hour shifts—the military occupying the mining valleys during strikes and lockouts—more than half of the population of South Wales unemployed for years on end—colliery owners making millions out of the industry to invest more profitably outside Wales. These are some of the memories which have embittered the South Wales mining valleys and have transformed them into a spearhead of the British revolutionary movement.

A Moral Re-Armament task force took its industrial play, *The Forgotten Factor*, to the Welsh valleys. In six weeks 35,000 people saw it. Ideologically alive, they were swift to grasp its significance. "Greater than Marx,"

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said the *South Wales Argus* later. "An ideology stronger than Marxism," commented the *Aberdare Leader*, one of the most trusted of the valley papers.

Men began to change in the mines and steelworks. Typical is the story of Jack Jones, a steelworker who for twenty-eight years had followed the Communist line. He had trained his daughter until she had become even more radical than himself. He started as a miner and lost the sight of an eye in the pits. He was thirteen years unemployed. "I sacrificed everything in the class struggle," says Jack, "my home, my comfort, the love of my wife—I even sacrificed my daughter on the altar of Marxism."

Jones was elected Union branch representative in his department of the Ebbw Vale steelworks, one of the largest steel strip mills in Europe. He went to negotiate with the manager who had the reputation of being a dictator. But unknown to Jones the manager had previously met MRA. His whole attitude to life had altered.

"When I went into that man's office, a man I hated, a man I distrusted, a man who represented the devil to me, I was faced by a man with a superior ideology," says Jones. "He spoke about absolute honesty and what was right. He told me how his own attitude to the workers had had to alter. I thought he was a crook. I went home and told my wife I had met someone who had gone nuts. 'Why don't you take a look at yourself in the mirror?' she said to me, 'You're no Michelangelo.' Then she said, 'You always criticise everybody else. What about yourself?' I stayed awake at night thinking.

"Then I went and told the manager, 'I will try and work this out with you.' But at first I had my hands in my pockets for fear he would try to pick them. Yet the spirit we built together has lasted."

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Jones is a new man and his family is a new family. He and his manager have travelled together in Europe, America and all over Britain to show what can happen when a worker who has spent twenty-eight militant years proclaiming his belief in the theories of Karl Marx meets a man with a superior ideology.

Moral Re-Armament spread swiftly through the Welsh Valleys. Another Jack Jones, the miner novelist, justly called "The Voice of Wales", sums it up this way: "Something far more revolutionary than Communism has hit the Rhondda Valley. Moral Re-Armament has started a revolution in the spirit of the community . . . People have welcomed Moral Re-Armament as their deliverance from the tyranny of the 'isms' which have for so long directed them to roads leading nowhere."

Facts prove the change that has taken place in the thinking of the Valleys. For example, Harry Pollitt, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, fighting in Rhondda East in 1945, polled 15,761 votes. In 1950, he polled only 4,463. The voting for the Rhondda Urban District Council shows the same trend. There is now no Communist member on the Council.

III

Italy is one of the most explosive situations in Western Europe. Two million are unemployed, while millions more work only half the week because of over-population and the shortage of raw materials. Wages are low—it is rare for a family to be able to exist on the wages of one bread-winner—while a few live in great luxury. There is practically no middle class. Italy has the largest Communist Party in the world outside Russia.

Five hundred workers—one hundred of them Com-

munists—came from the industrial North of Italy to the Caux Assembly in 1950. They came in parties of fifty, often with some of the management from their plants.

When one of the management-labour delegations from the Montecatini Industries returned to Milan, an executive apologised to the Communist works council chairman for the bitterness with which they had fought. Eighty per cent of the men in this factory are Communist. But within a week it was decided by a unanimous vote of the workers to take down the portrait of Stalin in the canteen and replace it by a picture of Christ on the Cross. At the same time it was decided that office staff and factory workers would in future eat together in one canteen.

One of the leading Communists from the Milan area, head of a factory works council, came with two of the works council members. After his first evening at Caux he said, "This is reality." After a few days he said, "We have not always been honest in what we have told the masses." He decided to measure his own life against the absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. He spent that evening talking things over with the director of personnel in his factory, a man whom he had regarded as his greatest enemy. All night long he did not sleep. Early in the morning he went to see another member of the works council, a man of opposite political views, and was honest about himself and his motives. On leaving Caux he said that he was in touch with 50,000 Communists in cells around Milan, and added, "I will fight for MRA when I get back." On his return he was called in by the Communist Party and asked to explain why he had disobeyed Party orders. He was immediately expelled, but his response was to send some of his friends to Caux. They reported that his

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change had become the main topic of conversation in the local cafés.

The Communist-controlled Chamber of Labour in Milan attacked Moral Re-Armament and the visits to Caux. In spite of this warning, widely publicised in the Communist press, the next delegation from Italy was 40 per cent Communist. They came from the largest steel works of Italy, situated in an area known as Little Stalingrad. Here at the end of the war a director was thrown alive into the furnaces while two others were shot. A present director says that on one occasion when the workers came to see him in his office they didn't beat the table, they beat him. One of these workers was with him at Caux, and apologised to him there.

After the return of the first group of these steelworkers to Italy, one Communist said: "It was like a bomb exploding." Two of them, described as the "most belligerent members of the works council," said, "If the Communist Party will not accept the principles of Moral Re-Armament, we shall leave the Communist Party." Another Communist said, "If I had been here four years ago my wife would not have left me. I am no longer led by the Kremlin. I am a man from Caux."

IV

A French Communist sat down at Caux with two senior officers. He spoke bluntly but quietly: "You talk of national defence. But what have the workers of France, who will be the soldiers under your command, to defend? At the present time the French worker has nothing to defend. His standard of living can scarcely fall any lower. What has he to lose? Unless you can give the workers of France an adequate life, free from exploitation,

which is worth fighting for, they will flock to the first programme which offers them immediate returns. There are only two real choices before the workers of France to-day. One is the revolution of Communism; and the other is the revolution of Moral Re-Armament."

The Communist, Robert Leblond, had come from Paris with his colleague, Gérard Fourmond. They work in the Poissy factory which makes sixty per cent of the universal joints for the French automobile industry. The factory is opposite the great Ford works.

During the last major strike in that area, Fourmond was particularly in demand. He had invented a new type of nail which, when thrown on the ground, would always fall point upwards. These were spread liberally on the roads outside the Ford factory to catch the police cars. When Fourmond decided to apply MRA, one of the first things he did was to tell his employer that he had been making the nails from the company's material in the company's time. Fourmond and Leblond are two of many French Communists who have taken up the fight for Moral Re-Armament.

In the industrial North, 20,000 workers have seen *The Forgotten Factor* played by a French cast. At a ten-day assembly at Le Touquet workers and employers came together at the height of the 1948 coal strike, which is said to have deprived France of coal equivalent in value to six months' Marshall Aid. Forty-five groups of workers came from various factories and mines, including many from the CGT unions leading the strike. M. Jean Sabatier, a director of the French National Coal Board, stated that the move back to work was given its initial impetus by miners' leaders fresh from the Le Touquet assembly.

Another of the Marxists who has taken up the fight in

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France is Roger Braquier of Mantes, near Paris. Abandoned at birth by his father and drifting apart from his mother, he was seldom far from starvation through his childhood, often sleeping under bridges and searching in garbage cans for his food. "When I discovered Marxism," he says, "it became for me a burning passion and I wanted to destroy, destroy --always destroy --to make a new world possible. But I have now found that Moral Re-Armament goes further than Marxism, and for one very simple reason. While fighting as before for the happiness and a means of livelihood for others, it has permitted me and my family to know happiness ourselves. For fifteen years my wife and child have been set aside for the class struggle. It's a hard thing for a woman to marry a rebel. But now my wife says: 'Roger, our family has found unity. I'm going to go with you, even if it means leaving my boy behind for a time. Because to fight for a better world together is the best way we can express our love for him.' Actually we do it all three together."

When Roger came home from his first meeting with MRA his little son ran to his mother with tears of joy and said, "Is Dad always going to stay like this?"

V

Western governments are no longer inclined, as they once were, to underestimate the power of the long arm of world Communism, stretching far beyond the most advanced Russian military outpost. Driven into a fever of activity to make up for the years of ideological somnolence, they set up new government departments, allocate millions, build wireless stations, expel Communists from trade union offices, and outlaw Communist Parties.

Yet it becomes plainer every day that world unity

cannot be created merely by fulminating against Communism. Anyone who has travelled in Asia, Germany, France or Italy knows that. It is equally certain that Moral Re-Armament has been making inroads in the very areas where Western governmental propaganda is at a discount. The reasons are not hard to find. MRA has no axe to grind. It stands four-square for change in Communists and anti-Communists alike. And it advances through the impetus of people who are practising what they preach.

Where will all this lead? Does it mark the turning of the tide? Certainly in Germany the Communists have already circulated instructions forbidding Party members to attend MRA gatherings or to fraternise with its leaders.

Their orders closely parallel the directives from Gestapo headquarters warning Nazi officials against MRA before and during the war.¹ For it is a curious, thought-provoking fact that both the Communist and Nazi hierarchy have put a higher rating on MRA's world-wide activity than have many in the democracies. Both have honoured it with serious and relentless opposition.

Yet MRA's leadership refuses to-day to join in the topical tirades against Communism, just as before the war they refused to add to the spate of anti-Nazi rhetoric. MRA's approach to the Communists is not to outlaw them, but to out-mode them. It fights for change as they do, but for change not just in one class but in every class and every person.

Communists are rising to this new level of thinking. The stories in this chapter—from Germany and Britain, France and Italy—could be multiplied many times both from within these countries and elsewhere. They are

¹ For summary of *Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung*, the 126-page Gestapo document, see page 152.

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part of a ferment of new thinking and living in many lands,¹ a phenomenon which embraces Marxists from India and Japan, the Americas and Australasia, the docks of Rotterdam and the ore mines of Northern Sweden.

This is what Frank Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, had in mind when he said² in May, 1950, "Marxists are finding a new thinking in a day of crisis. The class struggle is being superseded. Management and labour are beginning to live the positive alternative to class war.

"Can you imagine Marxists so different that their employers say of them, 'They are our best friends'? Can you imagine an industrialist so different that the workers ask to see his passport before they will believe the miracle of his change? These things are true. They are happening. They are the one hope of finding unity for all. Is there any difference between West and East when this becomes a fact?

"Is change for all the one basis of unity for all? Can Marxists be changed? Can they have this new thinking? Can Marxists pave the way for a greater ideology? Why not? They have always been open to new things. They have been forerunners. They will go to prison for their belief. They will die for their belief. Why should they not be the ones to live for this superior thinking?"

¹ See statement by a founder of the Norwegian Communist Party, page 154.

² For the full text of this speech, see page 143.

Chapter Two

ROAD TO A NEW EUROPE

EUROPE IS TORN not only by the class war within nations but by the hates and hurts that linger from the wars between the nations.

Paper pacts, grudging concessions and interminable conferences do not heal these wounds. No answer is complete to-day unless it can solve such problems as the centuries-old fear and bitterness between nations like France and Germany.

For example, statesmen have been perplexed about how to fit both these countries into an integrated European defence system.

Strong forces of opinion in France opposed giving arms to Germans, though the military experts insisted that German man-power would be invaluable in European defence. France, having been so often invaded, was afraid of Germany.

On the other hand, many Western Germans were loath to be armed as infantrymen and bear the brunt of any attack from the East, while the French and other allied forces would be able to retreat towards prepared positions nearer the Channel.

But consider the Eastern section of Germany. Russia, like France, was invaded by Germany. Yet the Russians did not hesitate to arm the Germans in the East. They were not afraid of having the Germans once more turn

upon them, because they had been imbuing masses of young Germans with a new ideology. These young men were ready to be trained as soldiers. They had been given something to fight for.

Once again the ideological factor emerged as decisive, and a crucial point in the defence of the free world becomes, "How can France and Germany find a purpose big enough to lift them above the hatred of the years?"

But quite apart from issues of defence, the world knows that there can be no European unity unless the Germans and the French find some new way of living together. Mr. Churchill stated the need. The question remained, "Who will provide the answer?"

1

On 4th June, 1950, a unique event took place at Gelsenkirchen in the heart of the Ruhr. This is the area where eighty-six per cent of German heavy industry is found, and where furnaces and mines have provided massive strength for Germany in three major wars. Here in the presence of a group of distinguished Germans, a Senator of France, Mme. Eugénie Eboué, on behalf of her nation, presented the scarlet ribbon and Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour to Frank Buchman. She said, "This is a symbol of the new friendship between the French and the German people." A telegram of congratulation came from leaders of the French Government¹.

A British estimate of this "new friendship between France and Germany" is worth recording. It comes from

¹ The telegram was signed by Paul Bacon, Minister of Labour; Claudius Petit, Minister of Reconstruction; Robert Prigent, Minister of State in the President's Council; by five former Cabinet Ministers; by two Vice-Presidents of the National Assembly; by the President of the Commission of the Interior and by the President of the Commission of Labour and ten Members of the Chamber of Deputies.

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Major-General S. W. Kirby, who was Deputy Chief of Staff to the Control Commission in Germany. Speaking of the work of Moral Re-Armament he says, "Progress has already been sufficiently rapid to have altered in several respects the relationship between Germany and France on the highest levels, and from all reports it would appear that in the spread of this ideology and in its taking root within the Western nations the great hope for the future lies."

II

And what is the story behind all this? When the last war ended and the Russian, American, French and British forces had seized the body of Germany, many people began to talk about the "ideological vacuum". They feared that either Communism or a new form of fanatical nationalism would arise in Germany unless this "ideological vacuum" left in the hearts of millions were filled. But filled by what?

In 1947 some men from Caux went to see General Lucius Clay who at that time was running affairs for America in Germany. They explained that the purpose of Caux was to train men to rebuild their nations on sound moral foundations. They suggested that the leadership of Germany, which until that moment had not been able to leave their country, might come to Caux to receive this training.

It was with the assistance of General Clay, as well as of Lord Pakenham, at that time the Minister responsible to the British Cabinet for German Affairs, that 150 picked German leaders came to Caux that year.

Karl Arnold, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, says of this invitation, "We are indebted to Moral Re-Armament because after World War II it was the

first to enter into talks with us in an atmosphere free from any humiliating distrust We have taken a wrong way to its logical end. Now we have a great opportunity. We can begin to take an entirely new way In our Cabinet we have already begun to see the fruits of this ideology at work. When the nations of the world seek the good road with conviction and passion, then I believe there is a new beginning for the world."

The 150 German leaders who came to Caux in 1947 decided their nation must have a handbook setting out their new philosophy. It was called *Es Muss Alles Anders Werden*, "Everything must be different."

There was no paper, no money, no labour. But Swedes who had been to Caux organised a gift of one hundred tons of paper. In Germany, at a time when electricity often failed and the cold was so intense that the ink would not spread on the machines, volunteers worked day and night. One million copies of this handbook were printed; thousands of them found their way behind the Iron Curtain.

Next year, 1948, 450 Germans, leaders from different walks of life, came to Caux.¹ Dr. Konrad Adenauer, West German Federal Chancellor, was there. Nine of his family

¹ Among other German leaders who have been to Caux are: Minister Presidents Karl Arnold of North Rhine-Westphalia, Reinhold Maier of Württemberg-Baden, Hans Ehard of Bavaria and Gebhardt Müller of Württemberg-Hohenzollern; Federal Ministers Gustav Heinemann (Interior until his resignation in October, 1950), Hans Lukaschek (Refugees), Anton Storch (Labour), Eberhard Wildermuth (Housing); trade unionists Dr. Hans Böckler (Chairman of the Trade Union Congress), Mr. Karl Goroncy (Treasurer, National Union of Mineworkers), Mr. Ernst Scharnowski (President, of the Trade Unions of Western Berlin); industrialists Dr. Otto Springorum (General Manager, Gelsenkirchen Coal Mining Company); Dr. Theo Goldschmidt (President, Goldschmidt Chemical Company); Mr. Martin Schwab (Chairman, Telefunken, Stuttgart); Mr. Fritz Hardach (Commercial Director, Krupps).

have also attended as well as several members of his Cabinet.

Many of the German leaders who came to Caux in 1948 insisted that Caux should come to Germany. So on 9th October, 1948, the largest civilian cavalcade to visit Germany since the war rolled over the Swiss frontier at Schaffhausen. Two hundred and sixty people from thirty nations took the revue *The Good Road*, which presents inspired democracy with drama, music and pageant, through Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf and Essen.

In the space of three weeks, 20,000 Germans saw the show. Thousands more who could not get into the theatre talked with the cast for hours in the streets or cafés of the cities.

The *News Chronicle* quoted a Military Government official as saying, "Moral Re-Armament has done more to win the German people to democracy in three weeks than we have done in three years."

In November, 1948, at the insistence of Karl Arnold's Cabinet, an international task force set to work in the Ruhr. Their main weapon was *The Forgotten Factor* in German.

Its première was given at Essen in a theatre which stands stark and bare amid the shambles of what was once the mighty Krupp Armament Works.

That was the start of a tour during which 120,000 Germans, mostly miners and their families, saw *The Forgotten Factor*.¹ *Die Bergbau Industrie*, official organ of the Ruhr's 500,000 miners, headlined their account: "MRA—A New Dimension."

Spokesmen from the Moral Re-Armament force ad-

¹ For a newspaper comment typical of hundreds, see page 156.

dressed the Socialist Party caucus in seven West German Parliaments. They spoke to more than 200 trade union meetings where the audiences were usually ninety per cent Marxist.

They were invited to Berlin. An international delegation was flown in at the time of the airlift. They were received by the Lord Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuter, addressed Members of Parliament and consulted with the Chairman of the Berlin Social Democrat Party, **Franz** Neumann, and members of his executive as well as with Ernst Scharnowski, head of the Berlin Trade Unions.

The Berlin Socialist daily *Telegraf* commented, "Here is an army of people whose principles go to the root of the political, economic, national and social problems with astonishing clarity."

With the rising tide of interest 2,600 of the leadership of Germany were among the delegates who came to Caux in 1949 and 1950.

III

Germans who are won by the ideology of Moral Re-Armament are ready to admit the guilt of their nation and their share in it. This change of heart is not mere words. It convinces those who could be expected to be most sceptical.

Take a typical instance — Peter Petersen of Hamburg. At the age of eight he was enlisted by the Nazis. Later he was selected to attend a special training school for future leaders of the Third Reich, and served in the crack Gross Deutschland Division. When the war was over he was gaoled by the British. In his own words, "I thought our enemies had better weapons in war. But that was no reason for me to change my ideology. Because I was careless enough to say that to other people I was put

in prison by the British. When I came out of prison I was more careful, but had not changed my mind at all."

Petersen talked with some of the MRA people in Germany and came to Caux. After some time there he said, "I was trained from boyhood in a false ideology. Even my country's collapse could not shake my beliefs. But MRA did. I saw where I was wrong when they showed me what was right.

"I felt I had to change not just as Peter Petersen, but as a German. I had to identify myself completely with Germany, though previously I had tried again and again to excuse myself. I saw that no real new beginning could come just by forgetting, but only by forgiveness."

Communists from the Ruhr who suffered under Hitler have met Petersen and others like him, talked with them and worked with them for weeks at a stretch. They say frankly that if they had had the secret of changing youth like Petersen as he and his friends have now been changed, Hitler might never have come to power in Germany.

One Frenchwoman whom Peter Petersen heard speak at Caux and who has played a great part in building a bridge between the French and the German people is Mme. Irène Laure. For many years she has been a leading figure in the French Socialist movement, a member of the Executive of the Party, Member of Parliament for Marseilles, her home town, and was head of the Socialist women of her country.

She is a nurse by profession. Her husband is a merchant seaman, for forty-seven years a Marxist, trained by Marcel Cachin, the veteran French Communist.

She is a quiet, grey figure, almost insignificant until she speaks. Then her voice carries the certainty of conviction born from experience.

She was a key figure in the resistance movement in

France during the war. She was one of those who concealed the French sailors from the Nazis after the scuttling of the French fleet at Toulon.

When the German authorities in Marseilles attempted to put pressure on the people by cutting down their food, and all the male authorities of the city were too scared to intervene, she organised a host of Marseilles women, gave them orders for silence and marched them like angels of vengeance through the city streets to confront the Nazi authorities. The rations were restored.

The Gestapo took her son and tortured him in the hope that the mother would reveal secrets of the resistance. That iron woman, though her heart broke, said nothing. But she came out of the war dominated by one thing - her hatred of Germany.

"I had only one wish," she says. "To destroy them all."

She was invited to Caux. She went with scepticism but thinking that it would be a nice holiday for herself and her son. On her first day there she heard some Germans addressing the Assembly. But these Germans were saying things that Mme. Laure had never heard Germans say before. They were honestly facing the mistakes of the past and their own nation's need of change.

The Frenchwoman's heart was full of hate and wonder, fear and hope, doubt and belief. For three weeks she fought, as she says, "to find a flea in the straw" somewhere at Caux. But she, with more reason than most to distrust Germans, was convinced that the change she had seen was real and would last.

She faced the fact that her hatred of Germany was helping to divide Europe; that her hatred of another class was helping to divide France; that her dislike of some of her own party was helping to divide the Socialist movement. It was an intense struggle. But the day came when

she stood on the platform and asked forgiveness of the Germans.

Six months later she and her husband left their home to travel with the force of Moral Re-Armament through Germany. With them was one young Frenchman who had lost fifteen members of his family in Hitler's gas chambers, and another, a man, of whose family twenty-two had been sent to concentration camps, never to come out again.

The Laures lived in the homes of the Germans and spoke to millions on the radio and at mass-meetings. They spoke in seven of the Parliaments of the West German states.

Irène Laure says, "Can you think what it meant in change for me to go to Germany? In my heart I had willed the ruins that I saw there. I am a mother and a grandmother, I am a Socialist and all my life have talked about fraternity, yet I had longed for those ruins. I had to ask forgiveness for my hatred from those people who were living in the ruins. I had to ask forgiveness from those 50,000 women whom I saw grey with fatigue, clearing the rubble in Berlin and who the Lord Mayor told us would take thirty years at their present rate of progress to finish the task.

"I do not forget the ruins in my own or in other countries that the Germans invaded. Not at all. But the thing I could do was to face my own hatred and ask forgiveness for it. Change in me brought forth change in many Germans. Moral Re-Armament is the greatest force that has created unity between our two nations. A common ideology is doing for France and Germany to-day what sentimentality never did between the two wars."

IV

This spirit has begun to sweep through France. It has

begun to take a real hold in areas like the industrial North. In a speech made in September, 1950, M. Pleven, the Prime Minister, stated, "The moral re-armament of France is essential."

Three subjects are on the agenda of the French Institute of National Defence, which is under his control:

- (1) European Unity.
- (2) The German question.
- (3) Moral re-armament of the French nation.

The ideology of Moral Re-Armament is very near to the heart and hopes of M. Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister. M. Schuman is a friend of Frank Buchman. He contributed the foreword to the French edition of Frank Buchman's speeches, *Refaire le Monde*, published in 1950. In this foreword¹ M. Schuman said, "Moral Re-Armament brings us a philosophy of life applied in action It is not a question of a change of policy; it is a question of changing men. Democracy and her freedoms can be saved only by the quality of the men who speak in her name. That is what Dr. Buchman expresses in simple and moving words. He has declared war on materialism and individualism, twin generators of our selfish divisions and social injustices. May he be heard and followed more and more in all nations of the world by those who to-day still clash in fratricidal hatred."

Frank Buchman is also the friend of Dr. Konrad Adenauer. When the Communists announced that at Whitsuntide, 1950, they planned a demonstration and a march in Berlin, Frank Buchman was invited to hold a mass meeting in the Ruhr at the same time, as a demonstration of an ideological answer. Dr. Adenauer welcomed the idea and wrote to Buchman: "I believe that in view of the

¹ For full text, see page 158.

offensive of totalitarian ideas in the East of Germany, the Federal Republic, and within it the Ruhr, is the given platform for a demonstration of the idea of Moral Re-Armament."¹

So before 3,000 miners, steelworkers, industrialists and political leaders from all parts of Western Germany, Buchman made his speech. He chose as his theme "The Destiny of East and West." Beyond the walls of Gelsenkirchen's Hans Sachs Haus, the great hall which is a centre of trade unionism in the Ruhr, millions listened as the speech went out over every West German radio station. The Western Berlin radio took it to the marchers in the streets and far beyond them to the East.

With Frank Buchman on the platform² were the former Communists, Bladeck, Kurowski, Benedens, Stoffmehl and their friends, and at their side Ruhr industrialists. They all spoke with one voice. After three hours the chairman tried to close the meeting. But hundreds of people would not leave. There was an ovation. They stood round the platform clamouring for more.

The words of Frank Buchman at Gelsenkirchen struck a deep note in the hearts of those who heard him. "Unity," he said, "is our one hope. It is the destiny of France and Germany to-day. It is the destiny of East and West. The alternative is divide and die. Moral Re-Armament offers the world the last chance for every nation to change and survive, to unite and live."

¹ For full text, see page 160; see also page 161.

² Also on the platform were Mme. Aung San, widow of the late Premier, General Aung San of Burma; Mr. Etsuo Kato, President of the Japanese Railway Workers' Union; Senator Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, U.S.A.; and Mr. Hans Dütting, Managing Director of the Gelsenkirchen group of mines in the Gelsenkirchen Coal Company. Dr. Hermann Katzenberger, the Director of the Bundesrat at Bonn, was in the chair.

Chapter Three

CLASS WAR SUPERSEDED

THE ISSUE of world-control will in the end be decided by the workers of the world. The struggle to capture the heart of the masses is the basic ideological battle.

Many people are misled by the Parliamentary fortunes of the side they favour or hate. But Harry Pollitt, leader of the British Communist Party, saw the issues more clearly. In February, 1950, after the electoral tide had wholly submerged his hundred Parliamentary candidates, he stated: "The great issues will be settled, not in the arena of this reactionary Parliament, but by the workers' mass struggle in the factories and the streets."

In this battle there are key salients. The way that the dockers, coal miners and shop stewards decide to move can settle the fate of a nation. And nowhere are these issues more vital to-day than in Britain, struggling for her economic survival.

I

The docks are the arteries of the world. Through them pumps the life-blood of nations. In this ideological age the dockers of the world have mighty power. They can swiftly strangle the economy of a nation. Swiftly, too, they can girdle the globe with the answer that all men are looking for.

Dockers are, from the nature of their calling, a world

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brotherhood. So many pairs of hands, black, white, yellow, brown, handle the same cargoes of kegs and cases, sacks and casks that pass through the ports.

Not long ago a Liverpool docker dropped his wallet into the hold of a ship. It was too late and too difficult to recover it from among the cargo before the ship sailed. So the docker chalked on the hatch "Wallet lost in hold." Sure enough, it came back to him from the other side of the world. That is typical of the international family of dockers.

For more than eighty years the British docks have been a battleground. In 1889, under the leadership of Ben Tillett, the London dockers fought for their "tanner" and to establish the right of organisation for unskilled workers. It was Ben who on his deathbed a few years ago sent the message to Frank Buchman: "You have a great international movement. Use it. It is the hope of to-morrow. Your movement will bring sanity back to the world."

The world dockers have the solidarity and the militancy of a family that for a long time has had to struggle, often to the point of bloodshed, for social justice, and have become accustomed to defending each other's interests under attack. The dockers have warm hearts and hot heads and they respond swiftly to any appeal to help the underdog.

The strength of the appeal of Communism to many of the dockers is that it is represented as a champion of social justice for the ordinary man and as a force against victimisation.

The case is made more convincing by the fact that there are genuine grievances which need to be put right. And the Communists fight hard to right these wrongs. But the warm hearts of the dockers--though the mass of them do not know it--are often exploited and used not for

social justice, but for purposes of class warfare. The work of Moral Re-Armament in the docks aims to win men to an ideology based on absolute moral standards and the guidance of God.

Jack Manning of the Transport and General Workers' Union was a leading member of the London Port Workers' Committee until his resignation in October, 1950. This Committee, though unofficial, is a force in the docks. In the last two years they have brought about two major strikes supported by thousands of dockers in direct opposition to the policy of the national trade unions and the Labour Government.

Manning was also the manager of the *Port Workers' News*, which, he said, made the *Daily Worker* look as conservative as *The Times*.

Manning's family have been connected with the docks for 120 years. His great-grandfather took part in the first unofficial strike on the London waterfront. Jack Manning says, "Before I met Moral Re-Armament there was only one person right—Jack Manning! When I was wrong, I said I was right."

Four times during the war the Manning home was smashed by bombs. "I had hatred," says Manning. "I believed the people who caused wars were the business class—money-grabbers we call 'em in Dockland."

A Manning son was killed fighting on the beaches in Normandy. Before he died he wrote home: "Dear Dad, I did not think I would see France this way. But if I give my life, carry on the fight where I left off so that the youth of the world may never have to fight a war again."

Jack Manning met Moral Re-Armament late in 1949 at a meeting in Canning Town Public Hall in the heart of the Dockland area. He came in the most quizzical frame of mind, ready to leave or to break up the pro-

ceedings if he disagreed with the speakers. He refused a seat and stood at the back of the hall leaning up against a radiator. But he was gripped from the start, and when he heard a representative of the "boss class", the Managing Director of a North of England tannery, telling the story of drastic change in his own life and business, Manning said to himself, "This is it." He stayed to talk two hours after the meeting.

He says, "I found in Moral Re-Armament what I had been looking for for a long time. A classless society that, if put into practice, could mean that war could never come again. I thought, 'Well, if I want some other fellow to change, start changing myself.' To change myself, that was a difficult job. For me, who was always right, to admit that I was sometimes wrong."

The Mannings began to live Moral Re-Armament in their home and at work. In the spring of 1950 an incident arose. Crates of matches were being loaded by crane. The foreman told the men to load more crates at each hoist than the men felt was safe. A quarrel broke out and one of the dockers hit the foreman.

The wharf manager sacked the docker and told him he would not be employed again on that wharf. The dockers contended this was contrary to the Dock Labour Scheme under which disciplinary action can only be taken through the Dock Board. Immediately several hundred men went on strike and it seemed likely the dispute would spread.

At this point Jack Manning took a hand. It should be borne in mind that Manning played a leading part in the *Beaverbrae* strike in 1949¹ and has been near the heart of many disturbances in Dockland.

As Jack and his wife, Nellie, talked it over, Jack had

¹This strike involved 15,000 men and tied up ninety-one ships in the Port of London for five weeks.

the thought to make a special visit to the wharf where the trouble was. "But it will mean losing a day's work," he said to Nellie. His wife answered, "If you are going to fight for an idea, you have got to sacrifice." So he went down to the wharf. Here is the story in his own words:

"I first went to the foreman who had been hit. He would not listen. He was sure he was right. Then I went to the man who had hit him and he wouldn't listen either. Then I went to the wharf manager. I told him: 'The man thinks you are wrong. You think the man is wrong. I think you are both wrong. But *I* may be wrong. The only way to settle this is to see what is right.' The manager thought for a few minutes and then said, 'Well, I must admit I was wrong.' " The manager thereupon reopened negotiations. He called a meeting of Trade Union officials. The case was fully argued. On the basis of doing what was right instead of fighting over who was right, the ban on the employment of the man at that wharf was withdrawn. He was taken on again. Both sides agreed to allow the operation of the usual Dock Labour Board machinery, and all the men at once went back to work.

Tom Christie, of Glasgow, Chairman of the Dockers' Branch of the Scottish Transport and General Workers' Union, was one of the thirty-six dockers from Britain who attended the 1950 Caux Assembly. "Caux hit me like a rocket," he says. "I've tried it. It works. Thousands of people have been telling me for years that I needed to change. I said to them, 'You change first.' But at Caux everyone agreed to begin with themselves. This was a new idea. It's not an easy road but it's a good road. The old methods had succeeded in smashing my home. I blamed the wife for everything. But the change idea has worked. We are building things up again and have begun to re-furnish the home with the money I used to spend in other

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ways. My sister says, 'If it works for you, Tom, it'll work anywhere.' "

Tom Christie and James McLaren, Secretary of the Dockers' Branch of the Scottish Transport and General Workers' Union, who also was at Caux, meet the employers' representatives every week to fix rates and settle grievances. McLaren says, "We used to go in looking for a fight. But on the basis of 'What's right' everyone gets the benefit." "Only yesterday," said Christie, taking up the story, "one of the employers actually *offered* to increase the rates for the job."

He added, "MRA is a priority for Britain. They can have all the parties and plans they want, but at the end of the day the statesmen of Britain will have to accept the four moral standards of MRA. The dockers have got plenty of fight. What we need is an idea worth fighting for. Now it is on the way. When the international force of dockers really gets behind this answer, nothing can stop it. This is the direct road to the new world."

Tom Christie also describes how he took a leading part in two of the greatest strikes in Britain during recent years. "They tied up the whole economic life of the island," he says. "It is a lot harder to accept the guidance of God than to pick the easy way of revolution. But by doing so you lead the working class to better conditions without creating poverty. I shall never again lead men out on strike without first of all applying the four standards of Moral Re-Armament."

Between November 1949 and July 1950 there were eight meetings for Moral Re-Armament in the London dock area, as well as rallies in Glasgow, Liverpool and other parts of the country. These were largely attended by rank-and-file dockers and full-time dockers' Union officials as well as by the unofficial leadership.

The aim of Moral Re-Armament is to build a leadership in the docks that fully understands the ideological nature of the battle for control; and to fight for moral change and the creation of new unity between trade unionists long hostile to each other. In many cases the skilled Communists spend the early hours of the morning indoctrinating the dockers' leaders and the Moral Re-Armament workers are there in the dockers' homes in the evening offering a still more revolutionary programme. This battle has been going on for days, weeks and months. Dockers know that the battle for social and economic change has not yet been fully won. But many of them begin to understand that if you fight for social and economic change alone without also fighting for the moral change in every class, that is not revolutionary, but reactionary.

Marx said, "Capitalism contains the seeds of its own defeat." But many dockers now say that the workers' movements also contain the seeds of their own defeat unless they can find the cure for bitterness, jealousy, greed and hate, and the answer to division among themselves.

The battle in the docks goes on daily.

After his visit to Caux, Bill Hegarty, then President of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, was attacked by another docker who hated Moral Re-Armament. Hegarty replied: "Some of you fellows are like chameleons. When you are with the Reds, you're red. When you are with the Blues, you're blue. But I think you're just yellow."

Another dockers' leader says Moral Re-Armament has meant three things to him:

- (1) After three years' separation from his wife, his home is reunited.

- (2) He, like other dockers in Caux, found his way back to the Catholic faith after years of absence.
- (3) He is fighting daily for a sound ideology in the docks.

II

One of the main cargoes which fills the holds of the ships in British ports is coal. If it is true that those who control the docks can control the economic life of the world, it is also true that those who control coal can control the economic life of Britain. So the coalfields, like the docks, are a violent ideological battlefield. The Foreign Minister of Britain, as far back as 1947, remarked: "Give me coal and I will give you a foreign policy."

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said when he was Minister of Fuel and Power that the National Coal Board had two tasks, a technical one and a psychological one: "They had to achieve immense changes in the pits and they had to change completely the spirit of those working in the industry." It is in the second sphere that Moral Re-Armament has made its impact on the coal industry.

When *The Forgotten Factor* was shown for nine months in the Westminster Theatre in London, miners from the different coalfields introduced the play each night from the stage. As the audience broke up to meet the cast and talk, the theatre sounded with the soft burr of the Midlands, the lively voice of Yorkshire, the sing-song of Wales and the slow rolling tones of Lancashire. Again and again miners from all over Britain travelled to London at their own expense to see the play—and often went back on the midnight trains so as to be ready for the morning shift.

Invitations were received from 150 collieries in every

part of the British coalfields to take the play there. And 70,000 in the mining areas saw the play when it travelled to Yorkshire and the Midlands, to Scotland and to North and South Wales.

Harold Lockett, Secretary of the North Staffordshire miners and a member of the National Executive of the National Union of Mineworkers, summed up the effects as follows: "When Moral Re-Armament comes in, Communism goes out, production goes up, absenteeism goes down. This spirit in every coalfield would ensure national recovery."

A typical case of the effects of the application of MRA was at the Victoria Pit, North Staffordshire. *The Stoke Sentinel* of 29th October, 1947, reported that the pit had set up an all-time record for the pit in coal-raising of 11,075 tons a week. The original target was 8,000 tons. This was raised first to 9,000, then to 10,000 tons. Referring to this increase in production, Bill Yates, National Union of Mineworkers' President for the pit, said, "Since seeing *The Forgotten Factor* with my workmates my eyes were opened as to where I could play my part. Since then co-operation between men and management has never been greater." During the last three years Bill Yates has:

- (1) Created a new spirit in his pit.
- (2) Worked with officials in the Area Coal Board in the fight for a united industry.
- (3) Helped to create a panel of miners' spokesmen who have carried to the statesmen and industrial leaders of nine countries the ideology they have worked out in their pits.

The twenty-one NUM Branch Secretaries in North Staffordshire sent an illuminated address to Frank Buchman thanking him for the new teamwork Moral Re-

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Armament had brought into their area. One of them, Aaron Colclough, of Glebe Colliery, says, "Before MRA came to our pit, we had never once hit our production target. In the weeks following the showing of *The Forgotten Factor* we beat the target so regularly that the Coal Board in co-operation with the miners raised it."

Commenting on this development, the *Birmingham Post* said, "The new spirit is so revealing itself in increased output that, according to one computation based on recent figures, if the same results were obtained in all British coalfields, the target of 200 millions tons a year (1947) would be exceeded by 30 million tons."¹

In many cases a decisive change in the attitude of the manager was the key to new co-operation for the men. In one of the largest and most modern pits in Britain the manager, Spencer Hughes, used to be known as the "Pocket Battleship" by the men, on account of his size and nature. Shortly after he had been influenced by Moral Re-Armament it was noticed that the weekly output of his pit had risen from 13,000 to 17,000 tons a week. Asked what had caused the rise he said, "That play, *The Forgotten Factor*, taught me to apologise and look on the whole of my work quite differently." A year later he wrote that the upward trend was maintained and that the 20,000 tons mark was being exceeded—all this without extra man-power or new machinery. The output is now around the 21,000 ton level.

Of the effect of *The Forgotten Factor* on the South Wales coalfield, Jack Jones, the author of *Rhondda Roundabout*, says, "This forgotten factor which demands a change of heart from everyone has pierced the armour plate of

¹ See page 163 for comment in *The Spectator*. Also see statement by the Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Fuel and Power, page 170.

every ideology from Conservative to Communist and set thousands on the new road."

Mr. Tom Beacham, the Area Production Officer for the pits in the Rhondda (No. 3 Area, Western Division, National Coal Board), dates a marked improvement from about the time that *The Forgotten Factor* was shown there. He wrote, "It has had a great effect on our relationships which is showing itself in the negotiations between the Board and the Union. The big problem everywhere is to get co-operation at pit level, and this is doing it. There is not the acrimony and bitterness there was. The Welsh collier is a realist and likes to see things work out practically. Men are quick to sense any change in management."

William M. Arthur, General Secretary, NUM, South Wales, and William Hopkin, Chairman, TUC South Wales Advisory Committee, and National President of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, summed up the visit of *The Forgotten Factor* by saying, "It has been successful beyond our dreams. Its spirit will have a great and abiding effect on our valleys."

Peter O'Connor from Scotland who, before he was killed at his pit, twice crossed the Atlantic to tell American industrial and Congressional leaders of the results of MRA in the British mines, summed up his convictions: "Miners digging more coal alone will not save Britain. Miners guided by God and working together with the fire of an ideology will save democracy."

Tom Gunn, a Branch Secretary in the National Union of Mineworkers in Scotland, was faced with the closing down of his pit by the Coal Board due to low output. The miners were only digging half a ton per man-shift. After seeing *The Forgotten Factor* he realised that he had been leading his men wrongly. He decided to change his atti-

tude and asked the Coal Board for a few months to work out absolute moral standards on the job. The manager and he operated together on this new basis and have done so ever since. Production rose from half a ton to 1.2 tons per man. The pit has remained open, and the miners have lost their fear of having families split up and homes broken. The manager and Tom Gunn no longer regard each other as enemies.

John Colthart, Assistant Labour Director for the NCB, Scottish Division, who was formerly Vice-President of the Scottish miners, says that he uses the achievements of these two men (O'Connor and Gunn) as an example for every pit in Scotland.

Over one hundred miners' leaders from Great Britain have been as spokesmen and for training to the World Assembly at Caux. They have visited Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and the United States, the French coalfields and the Ruhr, and have told industrialists, Cabinet Ministers and labour leaders in those countries what is happening in Britain. The miners themselves have started a fighting fund to which all can contribute to send their spokesmen wherever the needs of the world and their own conviction should lead them.

To celebrate the tenth anniversary of Moral Re-Armament, the President and Secretary of the NUM, North Staffordshire, the Agent and Secretary of the NUM, Leicestershire, and the President of the NUM, Warwickshire, invited leaders of the mining industry from France, Germany, Belgium and Holland to a national demonstration to celebrate the occasion.¹

Frank Painter, President of the Warwickshire miners says, "We had no ideology at all in the British coal

¹ *The Stoke-on-Trent City Times* carried a special editorial. See page 163.

industry except that of materialism. But Moral Re-Armament has brought a better idea. It has not only given real teamwork and better output, but it has sent many miners like myself half across the world to give evidence of an answer, tried and tested in our British coalfields, and now given to the nations."

III

Apart from the dockers and miners, the shop stewards on the floor of the factories are key figures in the ideological battle to control industry.

Shop stewards are rank-and-file workers, elected by their fellows to represent them. They do the day-to-day negotiations in the factory and have the opportunity to settle or to magnify many disputes at their outset. Many of them have a passion for social justice and a desire to conquer the apathy of the masses of the workers and restore enthusiasm for trade unionism.

Following the visit of the MRA plays to London and the centres of heavy industry, shop stewards and trade union leaders in these areas started to plan ideological training courses. One of these was a course recently given in Birmingham and attended by over a hundred shop stewards belonging to fourteen unions and twenty-two factories employing over 100,000 workers, including Austin, Morris Commercial, Birmingham Small Arms, Lucas, General Electric Company, Cadbury, and Guest, Keen and Nettlefold. It is interesting to note that, at the time of writing, no major strike has taken place for two years in the departments or factories for which these men are responsible. Similar courses have taken place in Belfast, South Wales, Yorkshire, Merseyside, Clydeside and the London area.

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John Reynolds is a Member of the National Executive Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He is a convener of shop stewards in Birmingham, was for many years an active member of the Communist Party and when he was in Moscow stood on the same platform as Stalin. Of this training for shop stewards Reynolds said in August, 1950, "The wonderful thing about Moral Re-Armament is that we do not wait for a Utopia but set about the job here and now. In my home we are holding training classes. My home is just two attic rooms in one of the main thoroughfares of the city of Birmingham. It is scanty of furniture but there is a certain amount of hospitality for any of my friends who care to come. To that simple home have come some of the top management of Birmingham. They have sat on my sofa. We have discussed the problems of industry and we have found solutions to these problems."

Arthur Morrell, shop steward convener at Ford's, Dagenham, and responsible for 16,000 men, says, "My own superintendent and I were for a long time very bitter enemies over a wrong I was convinced he had done me. For many years I did my utmost against him by causing all the trouble I could. Then I met Moral Re-Armament. The first thing I had to do was the most difficult I could think of: to go and apologise to the superintendent. To be perfectly frank, I do not think I had ever apologised to anybody in my life before then. After walking back and forth fifteen times, I finally plucked up enough courage to go into his office and apologise. Someone told me a few days later that he remarked, 'If Moral Re-Armament can do that to Morrell, there is something there. I am going to have a look at it.' Moral Re-Armament can change people. It can change a worker. It can change management. MRA

has meant a lot of difference to Ford's. It has been said by the Chairman of Ford's himself that this year (1949-50) has been the best year for negotiations in his experience. It has been a record year in car production. That is a by-product of MRA, in my opinion. Moral Re-Armament is giving the spirit that brings co-operation between the management and men, and then extra production comes automatically. Then increase in pay arises from the increase in production."

The *Communist Review*, a few months before Arthur Morrell made this statement, published a complaint that the hold which Moral Re-Armament had on sections in the Dagenham works was adding to their difficulties in infiltrating Ford's.

James Leask is a Birmingham trades union leader, responsible for 60,000 men in the engineering industry. But at one time he was cynical about them and about the future. Leask saw in Moral Re-Armament the world that in his heart he and all his comrades wanted.

In a broadcast debate on the BBC with Willie Gallacher, Chairman of the British Communist Party, Leask said, "The ideology of Communism is inadequate for the needs of the twentieth century. In ideological warfare the Communists can show us much. They have a passion, a plan and a philosophy which many of us need. The trade union's job is to unite. The real forces of reaction are those who refuse to change. The new world will not come through liquidation but through change. The choice is between materialistic dictatorship and free people. In the world to-day there is a battle for the minds of men. The ideas that are biggest will win. The need is for a coalition of all the sound forces to build for all time a better world for everyone."

Men from forty-nine British Trades Unions and twenty-

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five Trades Councils have been to Caux.¹ New voices are being heard in works councils, district and national union committees. Resolutions reflect a new vision for industry to feed, clothe and house the millions, and a new passion for unity and the fulfilment of the destiny of the workers of the world.

Frank Buchman has said that labour led by God can lead the world. That is the revolutionary conception of Moral Re-Armament. Many West German Marxists say, "This is what Socialists have been looking for for a hundred years." The President of the Berlin Trade Unions, Scharnowsky, said, "Tell Frank Buchman that I will be fighting with him in Berlin. These are the ideas we need, for class warfare to-day is out of date." The chief Workers' Delegate for Britain at the ILO said, as he left Caux, "Absolute moral standards must become the driving force of the workers of the world."

In the last century the cry was "Workers of the world unite." The urgent need was to unite against something, against injustice and poverty, which existed then and still exist. But the need to-day is "Workers unite the world," with a great positive idea. That is why the leaders of world labour come to Caux. That is why one hundred labour leaders from the inaugural conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949, including their President, Paul Finet, came to the headquarters of MRA in London. And that is why the veteran European Trade Union leader, Evert Kupers, says, "I march with Frank Buchman, shoulder to shoulder, to that better society in which shall reign social security and social justice."²

¹ For text of speech by Mr. Robert Edwards, General Secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union, see page 171.

² For text of Foreword by Evert Kupers to *World Labour and Caux*, see page 173.

Chapter Four

NEW FACTOR IN MANAGEMENT

JUST AS IN THE DOCKS and mines and factories, workers are changing and fighting for Moral Re-Armament, so among employers on a world front can be seen the forging of an ideological force.

In a lecture to Communist leaders in Moscow Stalin once said, "If capitalism could adapt its production not to getting maximum profits but to the systematic improvement of the masses of the people, then there would not be any crisis—but then capitalism would not be capitalism."

Stalin clearly regards the changing of capitalists as unlikely. But something of which he never dreamed is now beginning to enter into human affairs. It is the fact that the motives and hearts of men can be changed. Frank Buchman gives the keynote for a new age with his words, "Human nature can be changed. That is the basic answer. National economies can be changed. That is the fruit of the answer. World history can be changed. That is the destiny of our age."

MRA does not aim to change capitalists in order to prop up an existing economic system. It aims to change all men to the place where they are willing to pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour in the fight for a rebuilt world.

When capitalists change and when, as often follows,

Marxists and workers change also, a new and fruitful harmony is created in which everyone has a part and from which all benefit. It is a dynamic unity produced when capitalist and worker begin to see a new range and purpose for the whole of their efforts—not profits and wages, not a battle for control, but a united determination that the work and wealth of the world become available for all and for the exploitation of none.

I

Here are the words of Mr. John Nowell, General Manager of the Camden Tannery, Runcorn, England, and President of the National Association of Cut Sole Manufacturers.

“ Unless we in management accept the challenge of Marxist thinking, we shall miss the challenge of our age and we shall be completely out-dated . . . Management must change. Many of us feel we have done our duty if we make it easy for workers to change. We approve. We support. We patronise. But we are slow to change. For myself, I can be a man of ideals. I can show great benevolence and even share my profits. But if I don't change, it counts for little. The structure of materialism rests very largely on the fact that there is a reactionary Right. The reactionary is one who will not change. Change begins to build a new structure . . . The challenge is to remake the world.”

Camden Tannery has built up its reputation over a quarter of a century. It processes 200,000 hides a year and produces from them seven million pounds of good shoe leather.

Some years ago a strike was organised in the works by a shop steward named Tom Tattersall. He was regarded

as a difficult man. The foreman used to remark, "I keep a pretty good eye on Tattersall. In fact I keep both eyes."

When the stoppage occurred, John Nowell realised that someone had to take initiative in breaking down the suspicion that existed everywhere in the place. He sent for Tattersall. He said he was sorry that he had distrusted workers in general and Tom in particular. This had, he felt, made it impossible for Tom to co-operate.

Nowell said he wanted to put all his cards on the table from now on and fight together with Tom for what was right. The shop steward was dubious but decided to give it a try. "In a new atmosphere free from tension," says Nowell, "we were able to sit down and work out what changes were needed on both sides."

A works council was set up which for the last years has been the mainstay of all the discipline in the factory and acted as a forum where ideas could be discussed. Since then not one pound of production has been lost through friction. Avoidable absenteeism has been at the rate of one hour in 1,000 hours. And although there has been constantly changing raw material, which has meant the movement of men into different jobs with fluctuating wage rates, there has been no dispute, and the work has gone smoothly on.

The trade union's district organiser said, "There is here a clear example for the rest of industry. Every one of my 4,000 members has benefited from what I have learned at the Tannery."

When during a period of acute labour shortage their manpower was reduced by twenty-five per cent, the remainder worked so well that production did not suffer. "In this amazingly increased productivity of men who are happy and free, I see the only hope of the democracies

adequately increasing their defences without becoming bankrupt in the process and so risking revolution from within by the loss of their standard of living," said Nowell.

Nowell described the case of a young man who came to the Tannery from a good Christian home. He had applied for a clerical job but through a misunderstanding was put on to manual labour. This was the first of a number of unfortunate incidents culminating in the refusal of the firm, for what were in their opinion very proper reasons, to let him take his wife for a holiday which she had been ordered by the doctor. The young man became bitter and turned to Communism. "It was this story when I came to hear of it that brought home very forcibly to me the responsibility of management," says Nowell. "It was not viciousness on our part but just blindness. We are so often blind and insensitive because we put plans, production and profits — all legitimate things, all necessary things — before people." Nowell adds, "It was the change in me which won the young man back to a sound democratic ideology."

It is interesting that Nowell's change of attitude towards industry began at home. He says he and his wife seemed sometimes only "to span a great chasm of misunderstanding by the frail bridge of politeness." Then one day he decided to tell his wife what he was really like. It was the beginning of a new teamwork between the two. A little later his wife said to him, "Why don't you be honest with the men at the Tannery as you are with me?"

Nowell describes the spirit of the plant as "revolutionary teamwork." "It is not the teamwork of those who agree," he explains, "but the teamwork of those who disagree, the teamwork of those who clash and change. It is the new dialectics. The chief shop steward in our works said one day to a visitor from abroad, 'We still have our

problems, but where they used to lead to conflict and deadlock they now lead to change and progress.' "

And it was the revolutionary change in Nowell, as the head of a firm and an employer of labour, which first captured the imagination of some of the leaders of the London dockers and enlisted them in MRA when Nowell was a speaker at one of the mass meetings for dockers in the East End of London.

Another British industrialist is Mr. Eric Robey, the President of a National Association dealing with building materials. When the Government appealed to industry to keep prices down, Robey's conviction was for his own industry to consider what price reductions they could make in the national interest.

He met with opposition but the force of his own conviction and the way in which he fought the matter as a moral issue carried the day. Lower prices were approved and put into use, thus lowering the cost of building repairs throughout the country.

Shortly afterwards a Government report was published criticising the industry for their methods and recommending increased Government control. The Minister in charge said in the House of Commons that before the report had been presented, the industry itself had voluntarily reduced a number of its prices. No further action was taken.

Mr. Ernesto G. Diederichsen, a Textile Manufacturer from Brazil, says this,¹ "Management has to change. We have to change to live out the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. This ideology has three characteristics. First, it is world-wide in scope. Secondly, it makes clear that 'As I am, so is my nation, and so is my factory.' Thirdly,

¹ For full text see page 180.

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it shows that there is a plan for each of us: a plan for management, a plan for labour."

II

When management is gripped with an ideology of change, the workers swiftly respond. Take the case of the banker and the Communist. Hermann Hintzen, a director of one of the oldest banking houses in Europe, felt himself, in his own words, to be an "enlightened dictator, like Frederick the Great, at home and in the office." He began to change. One day he met Carlos Pronk, the fighting "progressive" leader who started the independent Marxist organisation in Holland. The banker talked with Pronk for three hours and told him where he and other employers like himself had failed in their responsibility and how he now was resolved to fight for a new world.

Following a visit to Caux in 1950, Pronk, with the approval of his comrades, renamed his newspaper *The New World* and wrote in it, "Bitterness and hatred are understandable, but they are no basis for a new world. The people of the world can be more quickly united on the basis of MRA. A little more socialism applied in the family would be a better example than a thousand speeches to convince the neighbours."

He felt that he must be different at home, and become thereby "a better father for his children."

He said at Caux, "If atomic war comes, there will be neither capitalism nor socialism, but only barbarism. If we fight in the old way, we shall have ruin. But if we fight in the new moral way, a new world can come as different as light from darkness. A better world can only come through better men."

Another Dutch employer, Charles Redelé, is a producer of foodstuffs. He came to Caux in 1950. He says, "I had not many enemies but those I had were real ones. For nine years I had a feeling of real hate against one of my competitors. He has a smaller factory than mine but he was President of our organisation in Holland. For nine years I tried to make it impossible for him to go on being President of our group."

Redelé decided to change. He went to see this hated competitor. The competitor did not want to see him and over the telephone told him he could not make an appointment for at least three weeks. "All right. Let's meet after three weeks," said Redelé. When they met Redelé says, "I told him I was sorry for what I had done to him during nine years. I told him my reason was jealousy because I thought, as I owned one of the biggest factories of our kind of foodstuffs in Holland, I ought to be President. I asked his forgiveness for the dirty tricks I had played on him. And he was blowing his nose and trying not to let me see the tears in his eyes. He couldn't speak at all for two or three minutes. So we stood together shaking hands like two fools."

As a result of this interview, the President wrote to his former enemy, "This will undoubtedly have material as well as spiritual consequences. We must present it in the best way possible to our federation."

And the material consequences have already begun. After Charles Redelé changed, he told his workers he wanted them to take equal responsibility with him in serving the people. Workers came to see him. They told him they knew it was possible to raise the output of the factory twenty per cent. If the workers did that, what, they asked, would Redelé do? Would the extra twenty per cent in production go to increasing the profits of the

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concern, and to the shareholders? Or would he be willing to use it to decrease the price of the food to the public and so lower the cost of living in Holland? Redelé agreed to the second course and the workers agreed to attempt an extra twenty per cent in production.

III

Bernard Hallward is President of the St. Raymond Paper Company, Canada. When he measured his life against absolute moral standards, he had to sit down and write a cheque for a large sum which he owed the Canadian Customs. This made headline news in the Canadian Press.

Hallward then began to see how moral compromise in men like himself had created the injustices of the Western world. "I see," he says, "the hardness of the materialism of the right mirrored in the bitterness of the materialism of the left. Communism is the outcome of the neglected conscience of the West. If you see your face reflected in a mirror and don't like the look of it, it is no use throwing stones at the mirror. If you change your own appearance, there is a good chance that the reflection in the mirror will also change."

Hallward has travelled across the Atlantic fifteen times to help bring Moral Re-Armament to the European countries. In the Ruhr he is welcomed and beloved by many Marxist and Communist leaders. In 1949 he was one of the spokesmen at a meeting of 150 Ruhr industrialists which went on for seven hours. Its aim was to plan how the spirit of Moral Re-Armament could be brought right through the Ruhr. Someone who knows German industry well said that if a bomb had fallen on that hall, Ruhr industry would have ceased because all

the big employers of labour were present. They heard industrial and trade union voices from a dozen countries.

Dr. Heinrich Kost, Managing Director of the Rheinpreussen Company and Chairman of the German Coal Board, who had called the meeting, said: "It is necessary that division be put aside, and that instead of division unity comes in. This will happen when we have the real desire and intention to change ourselves. We must put people first in our plan. In this way we can unite as human beings so that something happens not only in our business but in our community and in our Fatherland. It is not for us employers to wait for labour to change. Change, gentlemen, is demanded of us. It is not a question of whether we change but how we change."

Following this speech, Bladeck and Kurowski, the veteran Communists in his pits, went to see him. They raised grievances which had been outstanding for several years. In the spirit of Caux, all grievances were settled within half an hour.

Hans Dütting, Managing Director of another group of Ruhr coal mines, has 25,000 men directly under him. He says of Caux, "I have had to alter my whole idea of the nature and purpose of industry. Of course we have to see that things are produced and distributed in the right way. We have to see that mankind has enough of the things they need. We also have to see that our workers have security and a better standard of living. But we have above all to be sure the workers and employers of the world have the certainty of inner satisfaction in their life. We have to remake the world. That is an idea for which it is worth not only working but sacrificing."

When Dütting first went back from Caux he talked to his men about Moral Re-Armament. To his surprise, nothing happened. They were not convinced. Then he

saw that Moral Re-Armament, to be convincing, had to be lived, not just talked about. He began to change himself. This is the verdict of Paul Dikus, chairman of the works council for Dütting's group of mines: "Two years ago there was great tension. When Director Dütting first went to Caux we workers just laughed about it. I can only say that his change has completely bowled us over. A few years ago I did everything possible to try and prevent Director Dütting from being appointed to his present position. Now here I stand at Caux with him. I have been a Socialist for twenty-five years. The class war has been written on our banners. But I realise that is not the way to find a solution to the problems between management and labour. In our pit we are really demonstrating how you can bring the answer to all problems on the basis of what is fair for all, without resorting to class warfare Therefore I, as a worker, say an absolutely clear 'Yes' to Caux."

"Workers' control" is the battle cry of the Left in the Ruhr. Some of the employers are countering it with various forms of co-partnership. Others take a stand on their traditional rights as capitalists. What have Dikus and Dütting to say about this?

Dikus states, "Great discussions are going on in the Ruhr about the participation of workers in the running of business. But with the relationship I have with our director that does not cause me any worries at all. I know that we have already got further through the relationship that we have reached together freely than other firms will get by means of a law."

Dütting says, "If we are really honest and unselfish, the workers' participation in control can be no problem to us. An employer who puts into practice absolute moral standards will give his workers more than any law can

demand of him. And he can do so without hesitation because he knows that the employees' representatives also base their work on these same standards.

"We must give all everywhere an ideology built on absolute moral standards which is worth work and sacrifice," Dütting adds. "We can, workers and employers, stand firm against materialism wherever it comes from, West or East. We will have a new future."

IV

In France Robert Tilge is one of the many industrialists fighting for Moral Re-Armament. He is Secretary of the Employers' Federation of Northern France, which includes 14,000 industrial and 50,000 commercial concerns and represents forty per cent of French heavy industry.

He is a massive man; played rugby football for his country and has wrestled in many international contests. His friends named him the Elephant, but the workers of France called him the Bulldog because he never lets go.

He is a human force. For years he battled for the rights of the employers. He became an inevitable part of any major industrial crisis in France. In one period of twelve months he had to deal with 160 strikes.

But bitterness increased. Deadlock deepened. And Tilge, who is a patriot, saw his country spent and weakened in a struggle of which he was a part but for which he had no answer.

At Caux, Tilge changed. He went back home and addressed an assembly of leaders of management and labour from all over the north of France. He apologised to the workers present for his wrong attitude towards them.

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That marked the beginning of an ideological offensive in French industry.

Meanwhile Robert Tilge himself has visited the USA, Canada and many European countries with task forces of Moral Re-Armament.

Addressing 400 leading business men in London in February, 1950, he said, "You will say that no one of us is responsible for Communism. That is right, but aren't we and our fathers responsible for the climate of our country, for the social climate and the wave of Communism before which every nation trembles with fear?"

"I sometimes think that Management is always late by one franc, one hour, one idea, because we have always been the people who want to keep and not to give. We must face our responsibility, in the factory, in the profession, in the nation, our responsibility for a falling civilisation. Caux has shown me that we must start a fight with ourselves, a war with our own selfishness; then we shall be starting to stop the next war and to save culture and democracy."

In America the president of the Company which made forty per cent of the dehydrated apples for the whole United States Army during the war, picked up a telephone one day and called the Packing House Workers' Union, "My name is Edgar Gallwey," he told the official. "Our workers want you to organise our factory. Please come and see me."

The secretary and business agent of the union called on the president at the factory. They were suspicious. Never in their experience had an American employer made such a move. Gallwey simply told them he wanted

their help in establishing right relations between management and labour.

The union produced a seventeen page contract. Gallwey said that while it was a good contract it was built on the suspicion of both parties and designed to cover every loophole. At the suggestion of the union secretary he produced a one and a half page alternative contract, which was agreed. This was a simple statement of wage rates, union membership requirements and vacations. It carried an undertaking to deal with any issues that might arise in a spirit of honesty and fairness.

A year later the president of the union told Gallwey, "I am prouder of this agreement than of any other contract our union has." The official newspaper of the American Federation of Labour described it as the most satisfactory working agreement in the State of California.

In the eight years since that time the company and the union have spent only a few hours in contract negotiation. There has been no stoppage or slowdown. The union has not been called on to take up a single major grievance with management.

The motive for both management and labour in that factory is the service of the people. There have been substantial wage increases. At the same time the company was able, in the middle of their contract, to cut their price to the Government by fifteen per cent. Inventiveness among the workers was the greatest source of saving. One man, for example, had an idea which resulted in an increase of two million pounds of dehydrated fruit each year at an added cost of only three thousand dollars.

The board of directors at first felt it hard to back Gallwey's "all cards on the table" policy with the union. One particularly cautious director remained unconvinced

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until he called on Gallwey one day when a rush shipment of apples for the armed forces was being sent out. As the president and the director walked past the shipping line, Gallwey pointed to a man in his shirt sleeves hauling the heavy crates. "He is the business agent of the union you are so suspicious about," he told the director. The union official, who was not employed by the company, had come to collect union dues, seen the emergency, taken off his coat and gone to work.

In the spring of 1948 the company received a serious setback. A large order was suddenly cancelled, after the company had entered into financial commitments to meet it.

It was at the time when a new union contract was due to be signed and the union had been obtaining ten to fifteen per cent wage increases throughout the industry. The company was willing to increase wages, but the financial crisis required retrenchment.

As soon as the union representative knew the facts, he told Gallwey, "Maybe there is some way we can help." He suggested the contract should be signed with no wage increase but on the same basis as the previous year. Gallwey said this would help tremendously and insisted on putting a clause into the contract that he would keep the union advised of the company's position and that if conditions improved before the end of the contract, he would reopen the question of wages.

A meeting was held by the employees and it was unanimously decided *not* to ask for any increase. Seven months after this, and five months before the contract expired, the company's position had so much improved, largely due to the interest of the employees and the effort they had made in preventing waste and helping cut costs, that the company were able to give a substantial wage increase to all employees.

At an industrial conference in October, 1950, at Los Angeles, attended by business, labour and industrial representatives from the USA, Canada, Europe and the Far East, Gallwey said, "This is an ideology - an idea put into practice. In American industry to-day we have to fight to produce not only the goods but the life that weaves the future of this country and the future of the world."

VI

The stories of change in employers of labour told in this section of the book are part of a rising tide of new thinking and living in many lands.

To-day Moscow banks on the chronic selfishness of capitalists to bring about the downfall of Western civilisation and to open the gateway for the triumph of Marxism.

Communists believe that the triumph of their cause is a hastening process of history. But history itself may record that the factor forgotten by Marx, hinted at by Stalin, in the end proved the decisive factor. That is the possibility of a change in the motive of employers themselves, the forging of an ideological force based on change and including changed management.

If this process were to take place, the core of the Marxist case would be broken.

And the fact is that such a process has now begun.

Chapter Five

TOTAL PREPAREDNESS

TOTAL WAR is one more manifestation of the ideological age. To-day war involves peoples as well as armies, faiths as well as weapons, ideology as well as military strategy.

Moral Re-Armament recognised from 1939 onwards, and put on record, that the democracies were, in fact, fighting two wars, "a war of arms and a war of ideas. Both are fought on a world front. And the eventual victor must win both wars."¹ Every year since the end of the war has underlined this truth. It has been evident in the relations between the occupying powers and the peoples of Germany and Japan; and still more in the advances made by Soviet Russia. Six European countries, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Czechoslovakia, have been taken over. Neither armies nor atom bombs played the decisive part in these campaigns.

In China, as the Red Army moved southward, the undermining of the civilian population together with the much inferior morale of the Nationalist army, led to what was virtually a bloodless conquest of the greater part of the country. One of the Nationalist leaders said, "We lost the war on the ricefields, not the battlefields." The minds

¹ See *The Fight to Serve*, an account of the war service of MRA workers, page 9.

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and wills of the Chinese people were won by a powerful ideology that penetrated far beyond the aircraft and the guns.

In Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and Indonesia the force of this new factor is behind every clash of the last five years. If successive defeats are to be avoided, it follows that this weapon must be confronted with the armament of a superior ideology.

The nation that neglects its ideological arm will lose even the peace it has won with its military arms. As Frank Buchman has said: "We have learned that democracy without an ideology can win a war but cannot build a peace; that ideological preparedness is the task of the whole nation, and is the one sure basis of national strength, moral, military and economic."

It was this that Lieut.-General Touzet du Vigier had in mind in a speech he made at Caux in August, 1950. He was former Chief-of-Staff to General de Latre de Tassigny and war-time Commander of the French First Armoured Division. He said, "Our security lies in the ideological vigour of the West. Every nation has three sorts of frontiers to defend: the political frontier which is determined by history, the strategic frontier marked out by geography and now, more than ever, the ideological frontier which goes through the heart of every man."

I

Lieut.-General du Vigier and Major-General de Vernejoul, of France, together with other senior officers from many countries who are interested in these new aspects of national and international defence, suggested that representatives of armed forces of the free nations should be invited to attend the Caux Assembly in Sep-

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Armoured Division from the invasion of the south of France to the liberation of Alsace, gave his conclusions in one of the final sessions:

“Moral Re-Armament gives us tremendous hope because it provides a philosophy, a passion and a plan adequate to turn back the tide of materialism. It is greater than the ideologies of materialism, and has the power to win their adherents. It will win not only in the West but behind the Iron Curtain as well.”

II

The facts about Moral Re-Armament's war record speak for themselves. Thousands of MRA-trained men served on every battle-front of the world in the last war. Many were decorated for gallantry. At MRA's London headquarters there is a large book containing the ribbons of the decorations won by Moral Re-Armament men in the British forces. They range from the Victoria Cross and the George Cross right through the list.

In America during the war Colonel Frank A. McHenry, Executive Officer of the Morison Field, Florida, said of Moral Re-Armament, “I have never seen any group in uniform or out of it that is doing so much for the armed forces.”

But valiant as was the service of Moral Re-Armament men in the armed forces, their unique contribution in the war years was in the field of ideology. Men in possession of the facts of this service evaluated it in its true perspective.¹ Seen from the view-point of the Deputy Director of National Selective Service in America, Colonel John D. Langston, it was “the most effective medium through which Communism, Fascism and other totalitarian ideo-

¹ For statement by (then) Senator Harry S. Truman see page 187. See also article by Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Cochrane “A Man is Judged”, page 183.

logics can be combated." Colonel Langston continues, "The work of Moral Re-Armament has impressed me since 1941 when I had occasion to make some study of its scope and effectiveness in promoting better understanding between labour and management in industries essential to our national defence.

"As Chairman of the Presidential Appeals Board, and as Assistant Director of the Selective Service System during the war, I had absolute confidence in the patriotic endeavours of the Moral Re-Armament forces. I believe the millions of copies of *You Can Defend America*¹ distributed by Moral Re-Armament early in the war and subsequent work of the group aroused America to put forth its greatest effort to co-operate in necessary production for the armed forces and to keep solidified the defence of democratic ideals. I have rejoiced over the fine work Moral Re-Armament has been doing to help beat back the tide of Communism. I believe you have the right weapon in this titanic battle."

Mr. H. Birchard Taylor, Vice-President of the Cramp Shipbuilding Company, building cruisers, destroyers and submarines for the Navy, observed the results in the shipbuilding industry and said, "These men are worth a sizeable task force to the Navy."

In the Lockheed Aircraft Plant in Los Angeles a nineteen-year-old shop steward, trained in Moral Re-Armament, was one of the 96,000 workers. He was elected to the central committee of his union. He built a team which thwarted the Communist attempt to capture the union. Throughout the whole of the war period there

¹ *You Can Defend America* was a patriotic handbook with a foreword by General Pershing. The United States War Department Bureau of Public Relations termed it, "Probably the most challenging statement of this nation's philosophy of National Defence that has yet been written."

was not a single slowdown or strike. Bottlenecks were broken and production mounted. The president of the union speaking in Washington at the height of the war said, "There are planes on the war fronts to-day that would not be there but for the work of these men in Moral Re-Armament."

To-day the young shop steward's work in the aircraft factories is carried on. His father recently received a letter from an official of his son's union, the International Association of Machinists, which says, "We have had considerable trouble with commie-liners distributing their literature at the Douglas Aircraft Company gates and also circulating the Stockholm Peace Petition. I wish to acknowledge thanks to MRA for the training that was extended to me, which was considerable, in coping with our situation in dealing with those supporters of the Communist Party at our gate."

III

In Canada Mr. Elliott Little, Director of the National Selective Service during the war, similarly recognised the essential contribution of Moral Re-Armament to the war effort. He urged the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation to obtain the help of MRA-trained men in dealing with a crisis in their mills and mines in Nova Scotia which produce twenty-five per cent of the steel and forty per cent of the coal of the Dominion. To this bitter wind-swept coastal area of Canada's Eastern Provinces, where scarcely a tree breaks the monotony of the landscape, a hundred trained Communists had been sent to exploit the low morale of the men and to gain control. Production was down fifty per cent. Absentecism ran as high as forty per cent. Mr. Little recognised that an increase in

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production of not more than five per cent would be worth 50,000 men to Canada's war effort.

Sixty-six MRA-trained workers moved into the area, their campaign spear-headed by the revue, *Pull Together, Canada*. Within two months, 33,000 people, workers and employers, had seen the play. An average of fifty calls a day had been made on key executives and workers. The MRA men had been down the mines and talked to the miners at the coal face. They had visited the dock yards and graving docks.

The effect of their campaign is typified by the change in one man, Bob Turnbull, president of the local miners' union and leader of a slowdown which had lasted six months.

Turnbull was known and feared as a bitter enemy of management; behind this lay problems in his home. He was the father of twelve children. His relationship with his wife was little happier than his attitude to management. It was symbolised by a simple domestic issue. Turnbull's wife wanted linoleum on the kitchen floor, but the money that might have bought the linoleum was being spent outside the home.

When an MRA worker went to stay in his home, Turnbull stopped spending on himself. With the money saved he bought his wife the linoleum. Change became a reality in Turnbull's life. Soon afterwards a meeting was held in the miners' hall which was jammed not only with miners, but managers and superintendents. Everybody was waiting to hear what Turnbull would say, as he had never had the chance before to tell management exactly what he thought of them in front of his own crowd. When he stood up, he gave the audience the fireworks they had expected – but with a difference. He said, "As far as I am concerned I can offer no better appreciation of what I

have heard about MRA than the promise to pull together wherever I am, first for the war, then for the peace." He spoke to the general manager on the spot, suggesting an informal committee of union members to lay before management specific proposals for increasing production.

Turnbull began to apply the principles of divine guidance to the question of how to solve the industrial crisis in Nova Scotia. He said to his own union men, "Every successful man plans his moves and writes out his plan. The working fellow is the only one who does not do it. Why don't we start and face ourselves and our problems squarely and write down the ideas we get? Then we'll keep the good ones and throw out the bad ones."

Soon after, there was a wildcat strike in No. 18 mine. Turnbull went to see the mine manager with whom he had a long-standing feud. His attitude was so different that the manager, instead of fighting him, promised a satisfactory answer to the men's demands if they went back to work. Turnbull went personally to see every member of the mine committee and a unanimous resolution was carried that the men go back.

Bob then invited the head of the mine committee with his wife to tea. They decided to have guidance together about how to handle the difficult mine manager when they went to see him in the morning. They got out pencils and paper and wrote down the thoughts which came to them.

The head of the mine committee wrote, "Meet the manager with a smile." His wife wrote, "Let him blow off first before you say anything to him." Two mornings later the headline in the paper read, "Satisfactory settlement reached in No. 18 dispute."

The manager called Turnbull into the office to thank him for the way he had handled the affair and reported

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the whole matter to the district officials of the company.

This sort of story, multiplied throughout the mining communities, began to show results in the production charts. The manager of No. 11 Colliery estimated that loss of output due to absenteeism fell by eighty per cent in a three-month period.

The Caledonia Mine reported an increased output of 300 tons a day of coal. The Princess Mine in the Sydney Mines, which used to average two stoppages a month, had no work stoppage of any kind in the months following the campaign of MRA. The president of one of the unions of the United Mine Workers of America in Cape Breton, who had been a prime mover in the slowdowns that reduced coal output from 19,000 to 9,000 tons a day, formed "Pull Together Committees" among his men. He began a series of conferences with other union officials and management, offering suggestions where different miners could be used with greater productive effect if they shifted jobs.

The Canadian Minister of Labour wired from Ottawa, "We need a new spirit of teamwork between labour and management if industry is to weather the difficult days that lie ahead. My department has received considerable evidence of the valuable contribution that the forces of Moral Re-Armament are making to produce this essential factor." The *Halifax Chronicle* said in an editorial, "Theirs is a contribution to the nation's fighting strength which cannot be overestimated." And the Ministry of Mines and Labour for Nova Scotia said that one hundred trained Communists who had been sent down to operate in the mines had been "completely neutralised" by the work of Moral Re-Armament.

Four years later the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia sent a message to Britain in which he said:

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"*The Forgotten Factor* has the fundamental answer to deadlock. The ideologies now abroad in the world will wreck everything unless that white light of *The Forgotten Factor* guides us in dealing with them. It captured me and I long to see its message put at the heart of the wider issues that face the world to-day."

IV

In this age men with ideological training are the key personnel in every country. In peace or war the life of nations depends on them.

In peace it is their task to ensure that their own nation is proof against the assaults of alien ideologies which bid to capture it without a shot being fired, to unite a nation within itself and with other nations, to make peace permanent and rebuild the world.

If war comes, it is the distinctive service of these trained men to arm the nation with a fighting faith and so to safeguard the nation's factories, docks and mines against systematic attempts at infiltration by false philosophies of materialism and pacifism; and to proclaim the mission of inspired democracy in such a way as to enlist the understanding and the backing of the world.

To-day democracy must give priority to this factor and learn the secret of creating in every nation a strong force of trained personnel dedicated in peace or war to the winning of the millions.

Chapter Six

DESTINY OF EAST AND WEST

AN IDEOLOGY WHICH CAN OUTBID ideologies of materialism must win the East as well as the West. It must have a prophetic conception of the destiny of the millions of Asia.

Asia has become an entity overnight. Composed of new political communities—Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Burma and now Communist China—she is very conscious of being Asia. Nationalism has achieved its aim. What is now to happen to the white-hot passions which carried nationalism to success?

Into this maelstrom has come a materialistic ideology. It has won China. It is penetrating every country in the East. Is it to be this ideology that will win this continent of ancient faiths as it wakens to a new age?

The West has concentrated on economic and technical aid. But will economic aid prove effectual here where it failed in China, if the West is merely pouring in money while Russia and China pour in ideas?

The people of the East show little eagerness to adopt the views of the West. Pandit Nehru made that clear again during the Korean crisis. In an earlier speech he gave a useful hint. The West, he said, must win the heart of the East.

At a recent Parliamentary conference in Dublin, dele-

gates from the United States were shocked at the bitterness which the representatives of Asia expressed towards white people. For hundreds of years white people have adopted an attitude of effortless superiority towards the teeming millions of the East. Now these millions, industrially and ideologically awakening, resent it.

Typical of the Western attitude are the words of a European Prime Minister who, referring to an Eastern visitor, said, "They should never have been given independence. They have been fighting among themselves ever since. They are not fit for it."

A Burmese woman, to whom this conversation was repeated, replied with a smile, "And are the European nations fit to govern themselves? *They* have killed millions of men in two world wars in my lifetime. So let us not criticise each other, East and West, but let us learn new things together."

I

The name of this woman is Ma Nyein Tha. She is known as the most widely travelled Burmese woman. She is playing a key part in the fight for unity between East and West.

She has talked with a King of England in private audience at Buckingham Palace. She squatted on the floor of Mahatma Gandhi's hut. She made such an impression on Gandhi that he afterwards said to a friend, "Ma Nyein Tha, I fell in love with her." She has stayed in the homes of miners in the Ruhr and of workers in the East End of London. She has broadcast to the world

from Britain and America. Thirty thousand people listened to her, among others, at the Hollywood Bowl. A Turkish newspaper recently described her as "the wisest woman in Asia."

Ma Nyein Tha was at twenty-one the headmistress in a school of 650 girls in Burma. It is the oldest and most famous girls' school of that country. She was so efficient and so remote. "Just like parts of the British administration in Burma," she says with a chuckle. Then one day some of the girls rebelled and wrote to the newspapers a long list of grievances.

She was not only angry. She was hurt inside, because she loved her work and thought she was doing it ably. So she ran away. She went to Rangoon. "God spoke to my heart in Rangoon about those girls," she says. "I began to face the fact that I hated them. I saw that when I became headmistress of the school my head had grown very big. When your head grows big, your heart grows small." So Ma Nyein Tha went back to the school and apologised to the girls. Much to her astonishment, the girls—and some of the teachers too—told her how frightened of her they had been. They had never dared to tell her that before. They became united.

Ma Nyein Tha began to understand the importance of absolute moral standards. With standards of relative love and honesty, she and her school were divided and distrusted each other. With absolute love and honesty coming in, unity followed. What was true of a school could go through a nation. That has been her message to the world ever since.

At Caux in September, 1950, Ma Nyein Tha with her musical voice, a flower set in the high crown of her jet-black hair, her eyes eager and her fingers full of move-

ment to explain each point, told the delegates from all over the world, "I am not interested in moderate standards. Who wants an egg for breakfast that is moderately fresh? Or to live in a house that keeps out most of the water? Or how would you like to be in a boat that floats most of the time? Or to draw almost all of your salary? Honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, these are the standards of Moral Re-Armament. And they are absolute. One hundred per cent. People are like tables with four legs. It's the same with moral standards. If one leg is a bit shorter than the other three, the table wobbles when anyone touches it. It's all right to look at. But it's not safe to use. If you put a lamp on it, it may fall down and burn up the house.

"What happens when we live according to absolute moral standards?" continued Ma Nyein Tha. "We are like a pool of water, clear, cool and sparkling, where everyone drinks and finds new life. Then a little leaf falls in, a stone falls in, a thorn falls in, a twig falls in, and they all go down to the bottom. Somebody stirs the pool, and you cannot drink the water. But clear the whole thing out. Throw the leaf away. Throw the stone away. Throw the thorn away. Throw the twig away. Then, when somebody comes and stirs it, there is nothing to come up. The pool remains clear and sparkling. Anyone can drink it and get fresh life. That is the clearing out we need all the time."

When Ma Nyein Tha was invited to broadcast to the whole of Burma on their National Day, she said, "What is the answer to all this dishonesty anyway? The answer to dishonesty is—an honest man. I would like to see honesty walking around on two feet. May I remind you—all of you have two feet?" Then she added, "The trouble with us is

that we are an individualistic people. Look at the word. Five 'I's and one 'U'. Look at the word Unity. One 'U' and one 'I', and the 'U' comes first.

"If I point my finger at someone else," added Ma Nyein Tha, suiting the action to the word, "there are *three* fingers pointing back at me."

Ma Nyein Tha began to join in a fight for a remade Burma. In Burma ninety per cent of the people live in agricultural villages, just as they do in China, India and Russia. In all such countries an ideology to be adequate must work in the village communities. An Englishman who had been gripped by Moral Re-Armament went to an area where the population was divided between the Burman and Karen communities, but also included Chinese and Indians, Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Buddhists. When he was honest with the villagers, the villagers began to be honest with him. Men began to learn the secret of changing and bringing change to others.

Let Ma Nyein Tha tell the story of the buffaloes. "One of the men in the village lost his buffalo. That is serious in Burma. He could not plough the land without his buffalo. What was he to do? We say in Burma, 'If you lose a thing once, you go to hell ten times,' because you keep on accusing everyone else of having stolen it. But the people of this village had learned to listen to God. The thought came to them to go to a nearby village and cook their evening meal under the big tree in the middle of the village street. So they went and cooked their rice and curry. Presently the villagers came back from their work in the fields and began to ask each other, 'Who are those strangers under our tree?' They sat around. Nothing was said about the missing buffalo. But the visitors began to tell them how they were

learning to live absolute honesty. When you have an experience to share, it comes from your heart and goes into other people's hearts. It is not a point of view to air, but reality to share. Soon the visitors saw a group of men get up and disappear. They were worried because the village they were in was a very notorious village. But the men came back and said, "Look here. Perhaps you have lost a buffalo? Well, we took it. But we cannot give it back because we have eaten it." They offered to pay for it. The owner said sixty rupees would be the price. Then the thieves insisted on paying eighty rupees. So they used the extra twenty rupees to have a thanksgiving feast all together.

"You see," concludes Ma Nyein Tha, "the villages, instead of getting up against each other as some nations and races and classes do, listened to the great wisdom of not who was right but what was right, and what they should do about it. So they became friends and became united."

The spirit of that village community spread throughout an entire area. A Government official responsible for the area was told by the head men of the villages, "We want to stop giving bribes." The Government official had done quite well out of the system of corruption, which is one of Burma's greatest problems. His tactful reply was, "If you don't offer bribes, nobody can take them."

One result is that the cost of a licence to fell timber has been cut down to one-twentieth of what it was under the system of bribery.

When the Japanese invaded Burma, civil war and massacre broke out in many places, but here there was peace. In the whole area, where previously the inhabitants had stolen from each other and often killed each other, a plan was made in the face of Japanese confiscation

of supplies, to conserve and share what was available.

General Aung San, when Chief Executive under the British Government, travelled thirty hours to see for himself this demonstration of an ideology at work. Twenty thousand people of the area had gathered at the village for an MRA Assembly. "This is what I want for the whole country," he said. When Aung San and seven members of his Cabinet were assassinated, Mrs. Aung San was given Cabinet rank. She came to the Whitsun gathering for Moral Re-Armament at Gelsenkirchen in June, 1950. There she said, "My husband and I have seen the areas in Burma where MRA is at work. It has brought unity. Our present Prime Minister, Thakin Nu¹, wants honesty and unity too. We need MRA to help us reach this goal."

Thakin Nu visited London himself in 1950. He came for the Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey to the soldiers who fell in the Burma campaign. He came at the suggestion of Ma Nyein Tha's English friend who first carried an answer to the villages of Burma—George West, Bishop of Rangoon.

At a dinner given to him by the Burmese community in London, during his visit, the Prime Minister told them, "Live a life of honesty in Britain so that you are true ambassadors of your nation. And live in unity with the British."

He paid his third visit to Frank Buchman's home and in his speech of thanks said, "You find here a warmth and understanding you find nowhere else in the West."

In 1951 Mahn Ba Saing, Minister for Karen Affairs in the Government of Burma, went to the National Assembly

¹Thakin Nu sent a message to Frank Buchman at the Caux Assembly in 1949. The text appears on page 189.

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of MRA held at Washington. He went with the approval of Thakin Nu. On his return he submitted a report to his colleagues in the Cabinet. This is what he said: "Moral Re-Armament has been tried and tested and found successful in country after country. We realise how necessary it is to solve the refugee problem, to bring to an end the conflict with the insurgents and to stabilise the economic life of the country. We realise only too well that, unless we solve these problems, and that soon, we may well be overcome by the threats to our freedom and our future."

Mahn Ba Saing proposed three things. First, that Burma should follow the example of India and invite Dr. Buchman to bring an international force to Burma.¹ Second, that Burma should send a picked delegation to the next MRA Assembly. And third, that "as Moral Re-Armament teaches, we should start with ourselves in applying the standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love to our own lives, homes and national situations."

II

The first big impact of MRA on India began when a British Government official decided that the best way he could win the hearts of the East was to admit that he had been cold and superior to his Indian colleagues and subordinates, and apologise to them for his attitude. The effect of this was startling. The Indians said they had never believed a white man could say "Sorry" with such frank-

¹ See page 190.

ness. The life of that community began to be transformed.

Mahatma Gandhi heard the news of this remarkable Englishman in his ashram. He did not believe it could be true. Some months later he said to his informant, "I had that story investigated. It is *all* true." Gandhi described Moral Re-Armament as "the best thing that has come out of the West."

Since the war Caux has been a magnet for the leadership of India. Among the first to come was Ragunath Nimbkar, one of the pioneers of Communism in that vast sub-continent. Nimbkar's earliest memories were of an endless struggle against debt in a small village near Bombay, while the merchants and the British lived in what seemed to him luxury in the big city. His parents scraped to send him to college. But the boy had already flung himself so violently into endless bitter political activity that he failed his examinations.

In 1922 he was sent to gaol for the first time. The Communists got in touch with Nimbkar when he came out of prison and he became a founder-member of the All-India Communist Party.

By 1933 the Communists were ready for a trial of strength. But in Calcutta the plot was discovered. Nimbkar was the chief of the accused in the famous "Meerut Conspiracy Case" and was given the heaviest sentence, twelve years' imprisonment. This later was reduced to one year - twelve months of fanatical brooding and bitterness behind bars.

In 1939 he was elected Workers' Delegate to the ILO Conference in Geneva. From there he travelled to Moscow. There he was shown to a magnificent room overlooking the Red Square. But at the last moment a

more privileged guest arrived and Nimbkar was given a less good room. He was deeply hurt. He returned from Moscow disillusioned with the Party but still in love with its idea.

In 1941 the British put him in gaol again because of his hostility to the "Imperialist war". One year later he and other Communists were released to win the support of Indian workers for the war effort which now had Soviet blessing. He was made Labour Welfare Adviser to the Government.

In 1944 he was appointed by the Government of India to represent labour at a committee of inquiry in connection with a threatened postal strike in Bombay. He found that the President of the Committee, Mr Krishna Prasada, then Postmaster General of Bombay, had invited the members of the committee to his home. It was a new home and this was the house-warming. Krishna Prasada is an old friend of Frank Buchman and of Moral Re-Armament.

Nimbkar found himself in a varied gathering. There was Sir Francis Low, editor of the *Times of India*, Lionel Jardine, British Resident (Senior Civil Service Officer) at Baroda, the man whose change of attitude had so excited the interest of Mahatma Gandhi; a cotton magnate from Egypt; a smart young British Captain, ADC to the Governor of Bombay, and others.

Nimbkar was suspicious. He announced baldly, "I am only interested in a tangible solution to the working conditions of the postal servant." Nobody argued. The British Resident simply said that in the past his attitude had been indifferent, superior and wrong towards Indians and that he had had to change.

The Postmaster General said he was sorry he had not

taken trouble to be fully informed what the workers' wages were and how they related to the cost of living. At which the cotton manufacturer described how in Egypt he had learned to put all his cards on the table with his workers and give as much care to his workers' wages as to his own salary. Nimbkar's key Marxist argument - that a person will only change when the system changes - broke down before this first-hand evidence. He had never believed that change could come by choice instead of by violent action.

So the following day Nimbkar, the agitator, presented himself at the Taj Mahal Hotel where the Englishman was staying. The fire and bitterness of a lifetime poured out of him. He attacked the Englishman savagely. "After 150 years of British rule is there such poverty in the world as in India? You retire on fat pensions for which we, the underfed, have to pay. You take millions out of the country. Then you come and talk to us about Moral Re-Armament. We are a religious people. It is not *we* who need to be different."

A dozen points of self-justification leapt into Jardine's mind. But he did not hit back. He simply said that the British people like himself had made many mistakes, but his aim now was to see things different for the future.

Nimbkar's rage drained away in the face of such disarming honesty. But he was still sceptical.

The test and proof for him came in Krishna Prasada's handling of the Post Office crisis. It began with deadlock between Government and Trade Unions, and ended with unanimous agreement which raised the wages of 20,000 lower paid postal workers and affected indirectly the pay of 80,000 more postal employees in other provinces.

That a committee consisting of five heterogeneous members and representing conflicting interests could

produce a unanimous report was considered to be a miracle; indeed there had been forebodings that there would be three or four separate reports.

Nimbkar returned to Delhi. He was in favour of the principles of MRA, but not yet a master of its practice. He had a serious quarrel with his chief, Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the sixty million Untouchables, and resigned his post. Then he was caught up in a textile dispute involving 5,000 workers and to dramatise the situation went on a nineteen-day hunger strike. In the middle of his fast he was amazed to receive a warm letter asking after his well-being from an English friend of Jardine's. Later Nimbkar said, "This gesture in a time of trouble meant more to me than all the arguments."

He was invited to Caux and after consulting with Mahatma Gandhi, who approved and asked for a report when he got back to India, he accepted. His visit to Caux was the turning point of his life. Before he left he said, "A few years ago I hated one and all except the workers of the world. I hated the British imperialists bitterly. I have been very moved here to meet Britishers who admit mistakes and have changed. I want to shake hands and say that when India and England work together, it will be a great force for remaking the world."

He sent a letter to Dr. Ambedkar apologising for his anger and self-will which had led to his resignation as Labour Welfare Adviser. This letter moved Dr. Ambedkar profoundly.

By the time he got back to India communal bitterness had flared up. Nimbkar told the Press, "This communal situation plays into the hands of the enemies of India's freedom. MRA stands for a third way in such disputes."

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Early in 1947 he became chairman of a committee of inquiry into labour wages and conditions. In April, 1948, he completed a report which was unanimously signed by workers' and employers' representatives—although it recommended considerable sacrifice for the employers.

The trade union leader Mr. B. K. Mukerjee explains this unanimity which startled Indian opinion, "The force of his conviction changed everyone around him."

And until his death in 1948, Nimbkar the Communist pioneer fought to get Marxists and management to Caux, as both, he felt, needed the power of the greater ideology that had captured his own life.

The Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission, of which Pandit Nehru is chairman, said, "Here is a force that can change selfishness and greed and all that is wrecking the souls of people. Until I met MRA I had not felt confident that there was an idea which could be applied universally as an adequate answer."

An interesting sign of new unity between the peoples of the East and West came at Caux in 1950 when the Independence Days of Pakistan¹ and India were celebrated.

The new flags were hoisted before the entire assembly by a Moslem who had had to leave all his possessions when India was given the district where he lived; a Hindu revolutionary leader who had had a price on his head and an English officer who had tried to track him down, but only caught up with him at Caux.

¹Among Pakistani leaders who have been at Caux are the Hon. Nurul Amin, Prime Minister of East Bengal, the Hon. Malik Mohammed Anwar Khan, Political Adviser to the Governor of the Punjab; Major-General S.M.A. Faruki; Commadore Hajee Mohammed Siddiq Choudri, former Chief of Staff, Royal Pakistan Navy; and Mr. Zahur Ahmed, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Lahore. A statement by Mr. Nurul Amin is given on page 192.

Those who saw this scene remembered the words of Mr. Jinnah during an evening of his last visit to London which he spent with Moral Re-Armament. He came tense and weary, but as time went on he relaxed and talked in a way which some of his colleagues declared they had never heard before. And as he left he said, "You have the answer to the hates of the world here."

III

Remembering Mr. Nehru's words about the West winning the heart of the East, it is worth quoting from the letter¹ received by Frank Bachman in September, 1950, from leaders in India who have met him personally or known his work. Among the signatories are the Deputy Chairman and three members of the National Planning Commission, the President of the National Trades Union Congress, the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, the Minister of Education for the United Provinces, the Minister of Labour for Bihar and the Chairman of Tata Industries.

¹The full text of the letter is given on page 190. The following members of the Invitation Committee have visited the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux :- Dr. S. N. Agarwal, Secretary, Foreign Department, Sarvodaya Samaj, Wardha; the late Sir Gurnath Bewoor, Managing Director, Air India, Ltd.; Shri Khandubhai Desai, President of the Indian National Trades Union Congress; Sir Lakhshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University; Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Deputy Chairman, National Planning Commission; Shri Ramnath Podar, Industrialist; Shri Krishna Prasad, Director General, Posts and Telegraphs; Sir Sri Ram, former Chairman of the Indian Chamber of Commerce; the Hon. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal; the Hon. A. N. Sinha, Minister of Labour, Bihar.

Indian trade union leaders at Caux have numbered seventeen including thirteen Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and members of executive committees of National Trade Unions.

Industrialists include four directors of Tata Industries.

DESTINY OF EAST AND WEST

"We are convinced that the true hope for bringing lasting change in social and economic conditions and for bringing peace to the world lies in multiplying such practical results as we believe to have been achieved by Moral Re-Armament We consider that such moral re-armament of the nations is the need of the hour and the hope of the future We would like you to know how glad we would all be to see you in India this winter along with an international team so that we may profit by your experience Together we must succeed in turning the world from crisis to cure, and in demonstrating an overarching ideology for management and labour, for left and right, for east and west."

Chapter Seven

'ALL ASIA WILL LISTEN'

LENIN THOUGHT AND SPOKE in terms of ideology. He once indicated that the shortest way from the Kremlin to the White House and No. 10 Downing Street lay through Peking and Calcutta.

Events in the East prove the force of his theories. Russia has shaken Washington and London by her advances in Asia, and her penetration there sets the pace in the world to-day.

How can the statesmen of the free world recapture the initiative in Asia?

How, for instance, can the ideological vacuum in Japan be filled? Overwhelming defeat in battle has given that country a new constitution. The framework of democratic society is being inserted into the life of those islands. But a few miles away are the coasts of Russia and China and the idea which is dominating the lives of their millions has long since crossed the narrow waters between. So the way Japan will go has yet to be decided by her 80 million people.

I

In Washington, on 28th July, 1950, a little less than five years after the atom bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and nine years after Pearl Harbour, a remarkable event took place. For the first time in the history of

“ALL ASIA WILL LISTEN”

the United States, spokesmen for Japan addressed the two Houses of Congress.¹

They were leaders of a delegation of seventy-six Japanese who had flown across the world to Caux and were now on their way back to Tokyo.

Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey escorted six members of the Japanese Diet, who were part of the delegation, on to the floor of the Senate. The rest of the party occupied a section of the Gallery.

The Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Alben Barkley, introduced the visitors. Then Mr. Kuriyama, representing the Prime Minister's party, replied.

Mr. Kuriyama's speech was interrupted no fewer than seven times by loud applause, not only from the floor of the Chamber but also from the galleries. The Senators rose to him as he finished his speech. He said, "We went to Caux in search of the true content of democracy. We found the ideology which will feed democracy in Japan and which at the same time is the powerful answer to Communism." Then after expressing gratitude for America's forgiveness and her aid in helping Japanese recovery, Mr. Kuriyama continued, "We are sincerely sorry for Japan's big mistake. We broke almost a century-old friendship between the two countries." The Senate and the galleries sat in dead silence, deeply moved by this honest apology from another nation.

The delegation was welcomed with equal warmth in the House of Representatives. Here Mr. Kitamura, the Secretary General of the Democratic Party and former Finance Minister, was the spokesman: "We, the Japanese people, feel responsible for finding an answer to Communism, an answer that will give a basis on which inspired democracy can be established in the Far East." He then

¹For extract from the *Congressional Record* see page 194.

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said that the Japanese delegates had found this answer at Caux. After the war Japan had thought that her most urgent need was economic rehabilitation. A far more basic reconstruction was needed and they had discovered in Moral Re-Armament the moral basis on which alone a true economic order could be established.

The New York Times commented on these developments in an editorial of 29th July, 1950: "It is sadly true, among nations as among individuals, that the friends of yesterday are not always the friends of to-day. In compensation, the enemies of yesterday may not be enemies to-day Peace and goodwill can return, even after the most terrible events. The Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were among yesterday's visitors. If they felt that they too had something to forgive they had achieved that miracle. For a moment one could see out of the present darkness into the years when all men may be brothers."¹

II

How did this historic event happen? In 1949 the first major Japanese delegation to Europe since the war travelled to Caux, with the sanction of General MacArthur. They numbered thirty-four and were led by Mr. Tetsu Katayama, first elected post-war Prime Minister of Japan and head of the Social Democratic Party.²

¹For full text see page 198.

²Other members of the delegation included Mr. Kensuke Hironouchi, former Ambassador to Washington, who was withdrawn shortly before Pearl Harbour on account of his opposition to Japan's military aims; Mr. Tokutaro Kitamura, Secretary General of the Democratic Party and former Minister of Finance; Mr. S. Yamada, M.P. for Hiroshima; Dr. Ayusawa, Executive Director of the Central Labour Relations Board; and editorial representatives of the newspapers *Asahi* and *Mainichi* which have a combined circulation of seven million.

“ALL ASIA WILL LISTEN”

At the suggestion of some of Mr. Katayama's delegation, two MRA workers spent the spring of 1950 in Japan. They travelled from city to city, leaving behind them MRA cells in the factories and communities. They discovered people who, all through the difficult years of militaristic dictatorship and war, had kept the flame of MRA alight in Japan.

The response to their message was amazing. Within a few months seventy-six leaders of Japanese life had been so captured by it that they were ready to leave their official desks, their trade union activities and their civic responsibilities and travel half-way round the world, paying their own expenses, to find an ideological answer for their nation.

III

This later delegation is said to be the largest and most representative group of political, industrial and civic leaders to leave Japan since the war. It included the Governors of seven Prefectures; members of the Democratic, Liberal and Socialist parties in both Houses of Parliament; the Mayors of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Kobe and Nagano; the President of the largest electrical company (Shibaura Electric) and of the largest insurance company (Nippon Life); trades union leaders, and leading educational, press and radio personalities.

Before they left, a farewell luncheon was given them by the Prime Minister. Mr. Yoshida told them, “In 1870 a representative group of Japanese travelled to the West. On their return they changed the course of Japanese life. I believe that when this delegation returns, you, too, will open a new page in our history.”¹

¹For message from the Prime Minister of Japan to the MRA World Assembly, see page 193.

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The Japanese travelled through Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain and visited the United States on their way back to Tokyo. They spent three weeks at Caux, mingling with statesmen and industrial leaders from both the victorious and the conquered nations.

In Germany, the United States High Commissioner received them in his Bonn residence. The Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, when he gave them an official welcome, said that he knew Caux well, and much appreciated Dr. Buchman's great contribution to international unity and social justice.¹

A party of eleven flew to Berlin at the invitation of the Lord Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuter. The Mayor of Hiroshima, Mr. Shinzo Hamai, presented Reuter with a cross carved from the wood of a 400-year-old tree planted at the time of the foundation of the city. This tree was a sacred camphor tree. Its roots ran under roads and pavements which rolled in waves over them. For no man would cut the root of the sacred tree. The tree was disintegrated by the atomic bomb, but its heart stood firm. From this heart the cross was cut. The smell of the camphor still lingers in it.

Meanwhile another group visited Rome, where they were received by the Pope and by members of the Italian Government. The whole party also visited Paris and London, where they were given official receptions by civic and political authorities.

¹The Federal Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Blücher, together with Dr. Wildermuth, Minister of Reconstruction, Dr. Lukasek, Minister for Refugees, and Dr. Storch, Minister of Labour, gave a dinner to the Japanese delegation. Other receptions were given by the Lord Mayors of Berlin, Cologne, Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, Hamburg and Bremen.

IV

During their world mission the Japanese began to pattern in their own delegation the secret of unity for their nation. One of the delegates was Mr. Eiji Suzuki, the chief of police of Osaka. His work is dangerous. His wife said that she never knows when he leaves home in the morning whether he will get safely back at night, so violent is the hatred that his work has aroused in the hearts of some of the people of Osaka.

He is a big man, with a mask of toughness which his job demands. One of his bitter enemies was another member of the delegation, Mr. Katsuji Nakajima, a leader of the 200,000 strong Metalworkers' Union of Japan.

Mr. Nakajima is little more than half the size of the chief of police, but full of fight. He was in Hiroshima when the bomb fell and bears the marks of it to this day. He is a devoted husband and father and in his spare time paints and draws with beauty.

But he loathed the chief of police so much that all the way across the world in the aeroplane he would not speak to him.

His eyes spark with fire behind his spectacles. But the water of tears quenched the fire as he went to see the chief of police one day at Caux and begged pardon for his hate. He told him he realised that all his talk of the brotherhood of man was unreal when he had so burning a hate for another man.

Next day the chief of police rose from his seat in a session of the Assembly and before 1,400 people from nations all over the world begged the pardon of Mr. Nakajima for his hatred of the Socialists and Communists. He said, "I have been overcome by your tremendous spirit. There has been a chain reaction in my

own heart. Although I am opposed to Communism, I have lost completely my hatred of the Communists whom I have blamed and fought for years."

Someone from another country, who had lived for years in Japan and knows the great reserve and proper pride of her people, said that if he had not seen this with his own eyes he would never have believed it possible. One of the members of the Japanese Diet described it as "the greatest gift that could be given to Japan. It answers the hatred that threatens to tear Japan with civil war."

Nakajima and the chief of police decided to fight together to carry the answer to hatred and the secret of unity to the whole of the East.

In a farewell speech before leaving America on 6th August, 1950--fifth anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima--Mr. Nakajima said, "I had used as my only weapon in the labour movement the weapon of hatred. I went to Caux with hatred of the Americans and capitalists as the basis of the philosophy which I fed to Union members. But there I began to realise that in this conflict of hate I could not solve the problems of my family nor the problems within my own heart nor the problems of my comrades in Labour. The experience of removing this hate was to me an even greater spiritual shock than the physical shock I received at Hiroshima. This is the only road for Japan and the only road for the world. Words are catching in my throat. I do not know just exactly what to say. But I am going to leave to-morrow with the strong faith that our hearts will all be tied together. As I arrive in Japan there will be many friends waiting for me, among them my friends in the Communist Party. These Communist friends will be asking many, many questions--for example, what I saw in USA. I intend to answer them in this way, 'Japan

and America must be tied together. But how can they be tied together? The Japanese must change now. But undoubtedly the Americans will have to change a bit too. A new ideology will bring together Japan and America. Change and unity—these are the things that will bring real peace to the world.' In our corner of the Orient, blood is being spilled. But don't forget some of us will also be fighting with everything we have for a new ideology."

In the first three months after their return members of the delegation have spoken to over a million people in meetings, and through the press and radio. They have also demonstrated in their new-found teamwork the unity which an overarching ideology can produce. Conservatives and Socialists have been working and speaking together. Public apologies and reconciliations have given clear evidence of the determination of these men to apply their convictions.

A Member of Parliament says that he is convinced that "the ideology of MRA will penetrate into every area of Japanese life." And Suzuki, the chief of police, writes, "Two things seem to impress people most— one being my experience of change at Caux and the other the practice of the highest ideology in the world. I am firmly determined to extend MRA in Japan for the rehabilitation of this country."

v

The Japanese summed up the potential significance of their journey for the whole of Asia in a statement¹ which appeared on the front page of *The Observer*. They said, "Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for

¹For full statement, see page 199.

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the minds of men. We appeal to the governments and peoples of the West to do the same—to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen.”

Chapter Eight

AFRICA WILL CHOOSE

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION Africans live on this continent. For three centuries the slave-ships came there and the traders with whips and chains loaded their cargoes and dragged them across the world. For nearly a hundred years they have lived under the domination of European countries.

For more than one hundred years, the Africans have seen gold, diamonds, timber, palm oil and wealth of every kind pouring from their native land. The Africans have provided the manpower, and the traders and settlers from Europe have amassed the riches.

Notwithstanding the many benefits of Western "civilisation"—administration, law and order, health and education, and the devoted service of many Europeans who have given the best years of their lives there—the African feels that he would be better off managing his own affairs. The dream and the dominant passion among those Africans who are now wakening to world events is *Self-Government*.

The materialism of the Western world they know and hate. The materialistic ideology from Eastern Europe has not yet captured them. But, as something which may help them to break the power of those who govern and, they believe, exploit them, the Africans tend to welcome Communism. Certainly few things irritate an African

more than having "the danger of Communism" pointed out to him by a member of an "Imperialist race".

At the same time they are in a dilemma and have not yet decided where to turn. Their senses tell them their security and destiny lie with the democracies of the West. Their emotions urge them towards Eastern Communism.

But when Africans see an ideology at work which fights for both East and West, an ideology based on change for the white people as well as for every other race, they accept it wholeheartedly.

I

A large section of the white race on this continent live in the Union of South Africa. How is the ideology of change affecting the Afrikaans and British people there and their relationship to each other and to the coloured races?

Through 1949 and 1950 *The Forgotten Factor* has been presented in South Africa. There have been 104 performances seen by 75,000 people. Half the Cabinet and more than half of Parliament have attended.

Three meetings have been held in the Houses of Parliament. One was chaired by the Hon. C. M. van Coller, then Speaker of the House of Assembly, one by the Hon. J. F. T. Naudé, the present Speaker.¹ Mr. Naudé sent a personal notice to every Member of the House. The third was chaired by the Hon. C. A. van Niekerk, President of the Senate.

Following these meetings four members of the South African Parliament flew to Caux. Two were from the United Party, one from the Afrikaner Party and one was a Nationalist. After Caux some of them toured Germany, Holland and Britain to see MRA in action. The

¹For an address given by the Hon. J. F. T. Naudé at the World Assembly, see page 200.

Nationalist Member addressed a gathering of business men in London in these words:

"It is surprising to be welcomed into a British gathering in this way. It is evidence of something new, as I have been fighting the British all my life. My fathers did before me. In school I had been forced to learn English, but at home I had been taught to hate. My children I taught to hate too.

"I saw a lot at Caux. Then I went to Germany and Holland. I stayed in private houses and discussed things privately with people. I spent an evening in the home of the manager of the Gelsenkirchen Coal Company. I saw his wife, a cultured lady, entertain with open heart a Communist trade union leader from her husband's mines. I myself was anti-Communist, but I spent one of the happiest evenings of my life in the home of a former Communist.

"If we in South Africa want to save ourselves we must look across the seas. Our frontier is not on the Limpopo but where the last man in this world is."

Performances of *The Forgotten Factor* were seen by all sections of South African life, European, native, coloured people of the Cape, Indian. The first performance for a wholly native audience was in one of the townships on the Gold Reef. Here audiences had a habit of coming late to the theatre. But twenty minutes before curtain time the hall was so crowded that not one more could possibly get in. At the end of the performances the audience rose and sang with deep feeling the Zulu national anthem.

Other performances for native audiences were held throughout the industrial centres, as well as at Adams College in Natal and at Fort Hare. "One reason we Bantus do not get further is that we do not agree among ourselves," explained one of them. "If a Zulu is chairman

of a council the Basutos will not co-operate, and if a Basuto is chairman the Zulus walk out. Since we saw *The Forgotten Factor* we have had the best meeting of our Township Council ever." One of the Bantu leaders said, "This is melting people's hearts, and that is what we need most of all in this country."

Race conflict is near the surface in South Africa. There has been loss of life this past year. But on some occasions where trouble was expected none occurred, and more than one official in native affairs claims that *The Forgotten Factor* has been instrumental in averting bloodshed.

Manilal Gandhi, who edits the African paper *Indian Opinion*, which his father Mahatma Gandhi founded, came with his family. Describing the play in his paper he said, "Moral Re-Armament is a lighthouse in this dark and stormy world of ours, and it will guide us to the right way. We feel that the darkness that surrounded our hearts has been lifted."¹ This performance was in the Gandhi Hall, Durban, on the eve of the Indian day of protest against the Group Areas Bill.

R. P. Erasmus is the Vice-President of the South African Mineworkers' Union. In 1922 he led the greatest strike in the history of South Africa. Thirteen thousand strikers were organised in armed commandos. Johannesburg was under martial law. Over 700 people lost their lives. It was the upheaval that overthrew the Smuts government. Erasmus was the "Kommandant-Generaal", and in South Africa he is still known as General Erasmus. After the strike was quelled Erasmus was captured and sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to hard labour and after three years an embittered man took up the cause of the mineworkers again.

Erasmus came to *The Forgotten Factor* the same night as

¹Full text of the article is given on page 201.

one of the managers of his mine. At the age of sixty-six he is still an underground miner. The following day the manager said to him, "Erasmus, last night I saw *The Forgotten Factor*, and never again will I treat any man as of less value than myself." Erasmus replied, "Never again will I advocate a strike when we can settle our differences this way."

For some months he quietly worked out his convictions, saying little outside. Then he was at a reception given by the Mayor of the gold-mining town of Springs. After some formal speeches Erasmus rose and asked if he might say something. Everyone was interested, for his background was well known. He said, "After *The Forgotten Factor* I sat down to tea with a mine manager. It is my first time in forty years in the mines that it has happened. We are annihilating one another in the world. I once saw a fight between a baboon and a bulldog. At the end the baboon lay dead and the dog had to be destroyed. We have been like that, but now things are different. If teamwork becomes reality, light will rise again. Otherwise we go down into the darkness."

Erasmus is a Nationalist. He fought under Paul Kruger and still feels passionately the experiences of the Boer war. Tears poured down his cheeks when he visited the house on Lake Geneva where the old President died in exile. In 1949 Erasmus opposed the mineworkers taking part in Caux. In 1950 he advocated sending a delegation at the expense of the Union. The President, Vice-President and Organising Secretary all came.

They told how a dispute recently arose which was exactly similar to one which had earlier vexed the industry for two years. A conciliation board, representative of the Government, the Union and the employers' Chamber of Mines, was set up. "I had become sick and

tired of the continual struggle in our industry, and thought the Chamber might now feel the same," said the miners' President. "So I proposed that an adjournment should be granted while the two sides considered the matter in the light of Moral Re-Armament. As a result, settlement was reached within a fortnight." A management observer commented, "This is a settlement without precedent in the industry's history."

The Organising Secretary of the Union, Mr. E. R. van Rensburg, who visited Caux later than the others, restated his President's opinion that relations between the mineworkers and the Employers' Federation were now on the best of footings as a result of Moral Re-Armament.

"In addition to the normal problems between workers and management we face a colour issue in South Africa," he said. "I shall do everything in my power to see that the colour question is solved above party politics and through the guidance of God."

Erasmus was invited to England. "That is no place for me," was his first reaction. But finally he decided to come and much kindness was shown to him. One of the people he met was Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Private Secretary to three successive British Kings. There were three reasons, said Erasmus, why he should dislike Lord Hardinge. First he was British, second he was "upper class", and third he was a "capitalist". But Moral Re-Armament gave them a true basis for trust and friendship.

As Erasmus flew back to South Africa a treasured possession was a picture of the two of them together. He said, "I will drop every bit of bitterness into the sea as I fly back." In Johannesburg he reported to a meeting on his trip, "I came to England and I met a lot of changed Englishmen and I learned a lot of things from them."

The Erasmus home has been remade. Most of the

money Erasmus earned used to be spent outside the house. Now they have a new carpet and a sofa and chairs. His wife says, "I didn't always look forward to his return. Now I just cannot wait for the moment he comes in."

After his return to South Africa Erasmus routed the advocates of class warfare who attacked him in the Union, by demonstrating that the miners had won more ground on the basis of Moral Re-Armament in one year than by other methods after many years of struggle.

II

In terms of the future of Africa, few groups are more important than the coloured students from that continent who come to Britain to complete their training. All of them hope to rise to positions of leadership on their return to Africa, and many of them have already won distinction and achieved much among their own people.

In Britain, however, they often meet difficulties. In the words of a successful young artist from the Gold Coast, "We are quickly disillusioned when we try to get lodgings. It's easy to obtain a list of addresses, but quite another matter to find a landlady willing to entertain a coloured student. The result is that many of us have to live in crowded hostels, completely cut off from English home life. Naturally enough we tend to stick to ourselves, and the resentment and bitterness we feel turns inwards. Most educated Africans come to Britain with already strong nationalist feelings. These feelings grow as we are excluded more and more from personal touches with English people."

The Communists take endless trouble over these African students—future leaders in their nations. For example, they are told that they can obtain *free* training at

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Charles University, Prague, in almost any subject from zoology to atomic research. A number of them have accepted this tempting offer, little realising its full implications.

Also Communist homes are wide open to coloured students and they are made very welcome there. After a while they are invited to Communist meetings and given the chance to speak on colour problems. To-day the majority of colonial students find themselves much in sympathy with Communist ideas. The reasons for the success of Communism are summed up by one of the Africans as follows:

- (1) Communists treat us better than the non-Communists do.
- (2) They promise—and in fact do practise—freedom from the colour bar.
- (3) They promise freedom for the colonial people from economic exploitation.
- (4) They promise self-government immediately.
- (5) They encourage and exploit the racial bitterness latent in any people who are ruled by another race.

Between 1947 and 1950 over seventy African students came to Caux, and the majority of them left determined to bring Moral Re-Armament to their countries. One such student, after a brief visit to Caux in 1949, returned to his university intent on bringing an answer to the bitterness that existed among his fellow countrymen, some of whom had even interrupted their work to study the use of explosives and the technique of revolution. Within six months, through his efforts and with the help of some of the local residents, the whole atmosphere among those students had begun to change. The following year six of them came with him and his wife to Caux.

Aaron Obonna is a medical student from Nigeria. At Caux he heard people explaining in practical and simple terms how the application of absolute moral standards and the guidance of God had transformed their own lives and begun to affect the life of their nations. On the day he left Caux he said, "At first I felt within me that people wanted to entertain us with literary experience. Now I know that what they say from this platform is real. In my guidance this morning I wrote, 'By propounding the ideology of MRA and passing it on to us in Africa, Frank Buchman has righted the many wrongs of the whites to the coloured races. We shall accept and uphold this ideology and shall bear it forever. This is the only hope for Africa, nay for all nations.' "

A British official, who has been a member of the Colonial administrative service for the last sixteen years, heard Aaron Obonna speak at Caux. He said, "A great issue of the second half of the twentieth century is what ideology will grip the coloured peoples of the world. If they turn to Communism it will be because we have failed to offer them a bigger alternative. It has taken me a long time to realise this truth. Obonna mentioned the wrongs done by the white races in Africa. I have not readily accepted that. My family—my father and grandfather on both sides—have served for generations in Africa, India and other places. We have been mighty proud of the work we have done there. But if the coloured peoples of the world do not want the sort of 'democracy' we show them, whose fault is that? There has been deep in my thinking an attitude towards the African people which said, 'Look what we are doing for you! Look at all our hard work.' I demanded gratitude and was resentful when I didn't get it. I begin to see the wrongs white people have done to coloured people in many parts of the world and I am sorry

for them. Our greatest need in Africa is an ideology to inspire men and to change men, and on which black and white can unite. That is precisely what the ideology of Moral Re-Armament is doing. I want to back these Africans wholeheartedly in their fight for a new Africa based on absolute moral standards and the guidance of God. To do that effectively I know that I must start with a fundamental change in my own attitude."

III

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, known to millions of people as Zik, is President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and one of the most powerful figures in West Africa to-day.

He is forty-six, a married man with four children. He is a member of the Ibo tribe and his father intended to send him to Britain for his education. But a British officer one day insulted his father, so he decided to send Zik to America instead. The boy showed courage and character there. He worked for his college fees as a coal-miner, a dishwasher, labourer and even a boxer.

He graduated at Lincoln University and became Master of Science at the University of Pennsylvania. He also distinguished himself at athletics. At the British Empire Games of 1924, while training at the White City, London, Zik felt himself and his race insulted by some of the Commonwealth competitors. He dropped his English name "Benjamin" and has never used it since.

In 1935 he returned to West Africa and built up a chain of newspapers. There are now five of them which are read by many thousands of Nigerians, and the extent of their influence exceeds that of any other newspaper group in Nigeria.

In 1946 Zik was elected President of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons. This is a council of about 200 trade unions, political parties and tribal unions. Each year since then he has resigned and been re-elected.

In recent years there has been a strong feeling in Nigeria that the constitution should be revised and the Africans given more say in their own affairs. Zik, as President of the National Council, pressed for revision. The British authorities at first told him he "represented nobody".

Zik thereupon stood for the Legislative Council and was elected by a decisive majority. The British authorities still regarded him with great suspicion. So Zik toured for nine months, visiting every part of Nigeria, and returned with support from his people to come to England to see the Secretary of State with proposals for a fifteen-year plan towards dominion status. He had a bad reception in England. He was smeared by sections of the Press, and the outcome of his visit was that he was told to "go home and co-operate".

On his return home his organisation tore up their proposals for constitutional reform and produced the more radical "Freedom Charter" which demands self-government *now* outside the British Commonwealth. In October, 1949, Zik embarked on the next stage of his campaign. Having failed to convince the Nigerian Government or the British Colonial Office with his original proposals, his organisation decided to send delegates to any international body that would give them a platform.

Zik was invited to address the "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism", held in London, then to proceed to Prague for a conference on "Human Rights" and to visit Moscow.

On his arrival in England Zik was again attacked by sections of the British Press. "Black Mischief" was one headline, above a full-length picture of Zik.

He was invited to spend an evening in a London home, where he was welcomed with simple warmth and treated as an honoured guest by his English host. It was here that he learnt about Moral Re-Armament. "In all the times I have been to London," he remarked, "this is the first time I have ever been treated as an equal in somebody's private home."

He and the Federal Secretary of his party were invited to Caux. They accepted. Zik later described what he found there as "an island of peace in a sea of discord." He became aware of abundant evidence that human nature could be changed. At the end of three days he was able to say with deep conviction, "It's not a question of whether Nigeria is right or Britain is right, but *what is right for Nigeria*. Our prayer for Nigeria is, 'Through God's guidance the people of Nigeria shall be redeemed from the servitude of hate and fear and suspicion. The fire of love shall not be extinguished from the face of Nigeria. The torch of absolute honesty, purity, love and unselfishness shall flame anew and bring not only a new Nigeria but the dawn of a new world in the making.' "

Soon after his return to London he had news of the loss of twenty lives when police opened fire on strikers at the Enugu coal mines. At once pressure was put on him by African members of the Communist Party to give orders for retaliation, and also to bring out the railway workers on strike. Zik steadfastly refused. Instead he sent a cable which was said to have done much to calm the situation.

In the teeth of strong pressure he cancelled his plans to visit Prague and Moscow. This was a costly decision for him. *The Daily Worker* attacked him on account of it and

it was hinted that things would be made difficult for him when he got home. He saw the Colonial Secretary before he left England, and *The Times* quoted him as saying he hoped there would be "good sense now and better understanding on both sides. He would be ready to modify his demands for complete independence if the British Government were prepared to change their attitude."

Zik flew back to Nigeria. Some of his principal political enemies were among those who greeted him at the airport.

He took one of them home in the car with him. On the way he said that he was sorry for the political rivalry that had existed between them and that in the interests of unity he wanted to serve under him and co-operate with him.

One of Zik's chief aims has been to unify the political parties of Nigeria. In this task he draws constantly on the lessons he learned at Caux. Like many other men, he is not yet a saint—but a new ideology has begun to change his approach to problems. In a major political speech recently he concluded by relating his experience of Caux and warning the audience of the tendency to point an accusing finger at the other man, forgetting that three other fingers would point backward at the accuser. "The element of change of attitude is the forgotten factor which should enter the political life of Nigeria," continued Zik. "The point should not be who of our opponents is wrong, but what is right. There is no reason why Nigeria should not have the spirit of Caux."

His papers began to publish news of Moral Re-Armament's fight for a new world order, including verbatim reports of Buchman's speeches. And in a cable to a friend Zik says:

"Since my return to Nigeria the Caux spirit has worked wonderfully in our local politics. You will be glad to learn

that I have become reconciled with all my former political enemies Nigerians are happy but flabbergasted. They are wondering what brought this about. Yes, the forgotten factor is responsible, thanks to Frank Buchman. The spirit of Caux is miraculous."

Meanwhile, Zik and his party, whose policy had been to hold themselves aloof from the official discussions on the revision of the Nigerian constitution, have now taken an active part. Zik also played a leading part recently in settling a labour-management dispute involving 30,000 workers by bringing together the two sides in an amicable settlement. In an editorial headed "The Spirit of Caux", his principal newspaper, *The West African Pilot*, stated on 5th June, 1950:

"The questions on every lip are therefore these: Is the African capable of realising his destiny? Is he capable of generating a sufficient amount of intellectual and moral influence to counteract the forces of evil? We believe he can. But in that belief we submit that both leadership and followership require the spirit of Caux That is the only gateway to African freedom."

Chapter Nine

CAUX

ONCE THE WORLD looked to democracy as the door to the future. But to-day the millions are sceptical. They see democracy on the defensive, while from every side they are assailed by the plausible logic and daring attack of militant materialism. It seems to offer the only open road.

Can democracy re-win her lost place in the hearts of the millions?

For the past five years at Caux in Switzerland there has been demonstrated a way of living democracy which has caught the imagination of men and women of every race, background and culture. It has equipped them with a revolutionary zeal to make the ideology of inspired democracy the dominant factor in their nation's life.

Thirty thousand delegates from 103 countries have been to the assemblies at Caux. They include ten Prime Ministers and ninety-three Cabinet Ministers, as well as trade union officials from thirty-four countries, men who lead forty million workers.

Two thousand Marxists and Communists have come to find a superior ideology.

Fourteen United States Senators and twenty-three members of the House of Representatives are among the

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delegations from the Parliaments of the world that have come to Caux.¹

Twenty-one European nations, twenty-two of the African countries, twenty-two countries in the Americas, thirteen of the lands of the Moslem world and the Middle East have sent their delegations. Fourteen nations of the Far East have been represented. Caux is the Mecca of the right ideology.

In September, 1950, when eighteen of India's leaders sought help in the ideological training of the nation, they applied not to Moscow, not to London, not to Washington—but to Caux.

Men are turning to Caux because it is providing for East and West, for all men everywhere, the secret of renaissance, the pattern of a world rebuilt.²

I

What is the magic of Caux that other conferences do not have?

The Vice-President of the French Senate said, "We have failed to unite Europe because we have tried to do it on a political and economic basis. We need the moral unity which we find at Caux." And a delegate to the United Nations stated, "In many conferences the problems round the table are greater than those on the table. Caux is the conference with a cure, for it deals with the factor that is not even on the agenda of other conferences—human nature."

1 A leader of 28,000 airline workers in India came to Caux. In his heart there burned the memory of jailings

¹ For report of official bi-partisan committee to Congress see extract from the *Congressional Record* on page 202.

² For further reports on Caux see pages 204, 207 and 212.

and beatings. He arrived bitter, cynical and hopeless. He began to change. When he faced the moral issues in his own life, he recognised the moral issues in the life of his nation. His philosophy had been that his country should be left to itself and stand aside while Russia and America fought it out between them and settled what the future of the world should be. Now he saw that it was not America or Russia, but men like himself in their millions who could shape the future. He left Caux determined to be a rebuilder of men. He returned as a constructive force to his own people, resolved to play his part with them in remaking the world.

The creation of new men is the normal and daily experience at Caux. It can become the normal practice of Cabinets.

Caux deals with men and rebuilds them personally to the point where their approach to everything and everybody changes. Frank Buchman puts it this way: "It sounds in the nature of a discovery, but you need new people. An ideology which means new people, that is a superior ideology. It is a force that has to be reckoned with. The force of a superior idea. Isn't it a superior ideology if we have something better? Human nature changed and so utterly different that all men say of you, 'This fellow is a genius to live with.' It means new people at conferences—people who live differently, who act differently when they get home—radically different. This is the change labour expects from management and which will meet their demands more than half way. With a chain of people living a superior ideology differences soon melt away and life becomes a joyous reality."

People find a life at Caux. Men of all faiths and men of no faith find absolute standards can be applied to their lives and to the lives of their nations.

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A docker from Liverpool says, "No idea has ever come out of the Kremlin to equal the four standards of Moral Re-Armament."

Change is for everyone. It begins when these standards are applied drastically. Men with this experience have something real which they can pass on to others. And as men change they begin to enter a new dimension. For problems that seemed insoluble move swiftly towards an answer as the hates and greeds and fears of those who create the problems are dissolved.

At Caux men learn that human nature can be changed—but that only God can change it.

Faith becomes real to some, stronger to others, as this truth is tested by daily renewed experience. Thus a Moslem, if he lives up to the highest teaching of Islam and accepts absolute moral standards and the guidance of God, becomes part and parcel of the moral and spiritual awakening of his people, and so of the world. Without this living faith, he is as powerless as a nominal Christian.

Men, rebuilt and with a faith, articulate that faith in such a way that every problem affecting their nation and the world is brought within its compass. When the moral and spiritual causes of each deadlock are recognised, the answer comes in sight.

That is how at Caux communists and capitalists, management and labour, men of every class and race, find the unanimity that the world is awaiting.

This does not mean that all who come to Caux feel the same way about every issue. They do not. But they do learn there the secret of how to rise above considerations of party, class, race, point of view or personal advantage. At that level, unity is found.

CAUX

II

Caux is also the pattern of the new society. It is a common life of people from all races and classes, who seek the guidance of God in their actions and policies. It foreshadows the life we might have in any situation where enough men unitedly determine to make the Will of God the will of the people. It brings the secret of Divine Wisdom within the reach of the ordinary sinner and the ordinary sceptic. Thousands at Caux have experienced that when man listens, God speaks ; when man obeys, God acts.

This forgotten truth has become the way to reunited homes, to effective economic planning, to new unity between men and nations. It was in a time of silence that Irène Laure, the Frenchwoman, found the answer to the bitterness that burned in her heart against Germany. A German leader says her visits to that country since she found that secret have done more to unite Germany and France than all the conferences of the years.

The dockers come to Caux. The 1949 dock strike in Britain is estimated to have cost that country £217 million. A man who played a leading part in that strike gives his view that the British docks might have been on strike again twice since then were it not for what he and some of his friends had learnt at Caux. They had begun to find the superior wisdom that comes to those who are humble enough to realise that human wisdom is not the last word. "I listen to God," one of them says, "and write down my thoughts in this notebook. This notebook is more important to me than my brief case, for in it in quiet I write down the answers to the problems I carry around in my case."

Who can compute the millions of money and taxes that

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will be saved to the nations when the conferences and committees that sit without ceasing in every continent and country debating the problems of the hour are conducted in the spirit of Caux?

Men of every background find in an experience of guidance the bridge over every division. The Nigerian delegates say it is the answer to the bitterness between the coloured and white races. A man who had the responsibility of training 100,000 workers of an industrial area of Europe in the principles of Marxism sees management begin to apply the secret of guidance. He says, "When management begins to speak with the voice of Caux, the class struggle is out of date." He goes back to his country and gives the workers training in this ideology of the heart and conscience.¹

And Communists tear up their Party cards at Caux, for listening to the voice of guidance opens the door of faith for the schooled materialists. It starts as a practical experiment and becomes a proved experience.

The conception of a new world that Caux offers is so vast, yet so personally satisfying, that the Communist says he cannot resist it. He sees in this renaissance of society the answer to bloody revolution, because in the fire of renaissance the steely selfishness and iron injustice which have produced the philosophies of force will melt away.

Caux is beginning to reverse the historic process of infiltration which for so long has riddled the state departments, the trade unions, the schools of the democracies. Now the Communists are going back to their cells and their Party organisations with the force of an answering ideology which wins their comrades to a greater revolution. For they carry in their own experience the answer to the basic assumptions of the materialist faith.

¹ See Dr. Heinz Grohs' statement, page 149.

CAUX

Caux dares to seek the mind of God on the problems which the mind of man has created.

III

Caux also offers the world a trained ideological force and weapons for its use. Let Frank Buchman in his own words describe how such a force was built.

"A generation ago a group of men gripped by a materialist ideology decided to capture the world with it. They gave their lives to that task. For twenty-five years they have worked—every hour, sleeping and waking, ceaselessly, skilfully, ruthlessly on a world front.

"Suddenly the statesmen of the democratic nations have woken up. They rub their eyes as they see what is happening. Why, they ask, are we in this situation? How did it come about?

"The reason is simple. While many slept, and others busied themselves with their own affairs, the materialists have been working out their revolution with a philosophy, a passion and a plan.

"What is the answer? A generation ago the force of Moral Re-Armament began fighting too. On a world front it has been answering plan with plan, idea with idea, a militant godless materialism with a militant inspired ideology for democracy.

"The idea caught hold. It remade men. It impacted nation after nation. Now it girdles the globe.

"To-day at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux we see this force in action with the answer, available for service. At a time when statesmen realise the lateness of the hour, it freely offers the fruit of twenty-five years of toil."

In the words of Foreign Minister Schuman of France,

it provides "teams of trained men, ready for the service of the state, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world."

And at a time when the democratic nations are searching for means to dramatise their cause to the world, Caux has created ideological weapons which have already proved highly effective in reaching the millions. *The Forgotten Factor* has been translated into twelve languages and has been seen by audiences totalling over 850,000 comprising the leadership of eighteen countries.¹ *The Good Road* revue has dramatised the ideas of democracy for tens of thousands in Europe and America. Five other plays have had their equally vital part in reaching minds confused by subversive ideas.

Through its plays, revues and songs Moral Re-Armament is sowing the seeds of a renaissance of the arts which promises to bring a new theatre and a new culture to the world.

IV

At Caux a living formula is emerging which is the answer to Communism.

Communism succeeded in establishing a new thinking and bringing it within the reach and range of the ordinary man. It has enabled him to interpret every world event in terms of the class struggle.

That is why Communists, all over the world, act ideologically in each situation in which they find themselves. Whether he be a statesman at the United Nations, a trade unionist at a labour meeting, an ordinary man reading his newspaper, the Communist interprets events and bases his actions upon a common ideological concep-

¹ For fuller facts see page 213.

tion. This ideological approach applies to every sphere – politics, industry, education, literature, art, even sport. Stalin puts it this way: “The strength of our ideology consists in the fact that it enables the Party to orient itself in any situation, to grasp the internal connection of events, to foresee the course of events and to discern not only how and when events are developing now, but also how and when they must develop in future.”

But Caux also is establishing a new thinking and bringing it within reach and range of the ordinary man. It is giving the world an ideology more universal and more fundamental than that of Communism; an ideology that pervades every aspect of life and enables all men to act ideologically and effectively in every situation. It is moreover an ideology of choice, not of coercion; an ideology of freedom, not of force.

It substitutes for the theory of the inevitable struggle between class and class, race and race, the fact of the everlasting struggle between good and evil. It offers this struggle as the background for each decision of the human heart and will.

Frank Buchman sums it up, “A faith moves Communists. A greater faith will need to capture us to give us the power of a supernational thinking to build the new world which is our rightful heritage. This is the disciplined living we need. It is not connivery that will run the new world. It is men God-led who will change history, who will give us a nation God-led that will remake the world.

“We must recapture the faith that has eluded us. Our grandfathers and our grandmothers had it. Lincoln was a man who had that faith. He knew God, and he united a nation. It needs men whom God can talk to, to fashion and unite a new world.”

Chapter Ten

FRANK BUCHMAN

IT IS GIVEN TO FEW MEN to be a full generation ahead of the time in which they live. Such men are centres of controversy to their contemporaries and a cause of thankfulness to succeeding generations. It has always been so in history. It is so with Frank Buchman.

Frank Buchman is an American of distinguished Swiss descent. One of his ancestors was the successor to Zwingli in Zurich and translator of the Koran into German. After his family came to America in 1740 they settled in Pennsylvania. One ancestor fought with Washington at Valley Forge. Another was the first man to enlist in Abraham Lincoln's army during the war between the States.

To-day Buchman is seventy-two years old. He is widely travelled and his knowledge of countries is profound as it is drawn from a personal knowledge of people and leaders in all parts of the world. After leaving college he travelled extensively each year and though he held university positions at the State College of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, he devoted as much time as possible to getting to know men and countries.

In the year 1921 he was invited by a British military adviser to join him at Washington during the Disarmament Conference. It was a significant occasion for two reasons. First, because on the train to Washington the impelling thought filled Buchman's mind, "Resign, re-

sign, resign!" He faced the moral challenge to be willing to abandon the financial security and comfort of a salaried position for an unknown road. Second, because the Conference sessions confirmed his conviction that plans for world peace were inadequate unless they reckoned with the necessity of a change in human nature. "You can plan a new world on paper," he often says, "but you must build it out of people."

Soon he was enlisting and training people of every stratum of society to bring to their nations a basic change in economic, social, national and international relationships, all stemming from personal change. Within a few years, through the impact of a returning group of Rhodes Scholars who had met him in Oxford University, Buchman's work was to acquire nation-wide significance in South Africa. The Press of that country first bestowed on his friends the title of "The Oxford Group".

It was to these developments that the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, for many years Smuts' Deputy Premier, referred when he said, "Buchman's visit to South Africa in 1929 was of national significance and started a major and continuing influence for racial reconciliation throughout the whole country, white and black, Dutch and British The future of democratic institutions in South Africa may well depend largely on the fruits of their labours."

The work spread rapidly. By the thirties it had become world-wide. Norway's delegate at Geneva, later to become President of the League of Nations, said, "Where we have failed in changing politics, you have succeeded in changing lives, and given men and women a new way of living."

In 1938, realistically facing the fact that armed conflict could not finally decide the ideological issue in the world, Buchman launched the programme of Moral

Re-Armament¹ which stated the need of moral force to win a war and to build a just peace. Of this programme he says, "God gave me the thought, 'There will be a mighty movement of moral and spiritual re-armament that will reach the corners of the world. New men--new nations--a new world.'"²

I

Frank Buchman's insight and action began to stir the nations to prepare for the ideological conflict. This was precisely what the Fascists and Communists feared most, that to the industrial and armed might of the democracies should be added the superforce of an inspired ideology. His action roused the best patriotic forces in the democracies and inevitably the opposition of the subversive forces. As early as 1917 his experiences in the Far East had taught him the godless basis of Communism. And Communists were quick to realise that the moral and spiritual renaissance which he brought was their most dangerous enemy. Likewise he clearly understood the basic materialism of Fascism. He said, "We have Communism and Fascism, two world forces. And where do they come from? From Materialism which is the mother of all the 'isms'. It is the spirit of anti-Christ which breeds corruption, anarchy and revolution. It undermines our homes, it sets class against class, it divides the nation. Materialism is democracy's greatest enemy."

In 1945 he stated a basic truth which had not yet wholly dawned on the statesmen of the West. "To-day we see three ideologies battling for control. There is Fascism and Communism, and then there is that great other ideology which is the centre of Christian democracy

¹ See page 215.

² See page 222.

—Moral Re-Armament. We need to find an ideology that is big enough and complete enough to outmarch any of the other great ideologies. Until that time comes, men will flounder. They will not find their way.”

From the beginning he was heavily attacked by all who did not wish to see a moral ideology take root in the world. The Communist attacks were based on the usual technique of calling anyone they feared a Fascist. The Nazis said that his work “supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims The members are challenged to place their lives under the Cross of Christ as opposed to the swastika which seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ. It is clearly opposed to National Socialism.”

Yet some of the very people who told Buchman “leave us alone” or “go and change Hitler,” and whose own complacency almost sold out the democratic cause a few years after, were the people who later hinted that MRA’s efforts in Germany proved that Buchman was pro-Nazi. The fact is that Buchman never met Hitler, and Hitler was too cautious to get into Buchman’s orbit. Nor was Buchman an intimate of Himmler or of any other member of the Nazi hierarchy.

The influence of Buchman’s work did stretch into Nazi Germany, just as to-day it is penetrating behind the Iron Curtain. Indeed, Ludendorff’s magazine at one point warned solemnly that “the sweet poison of Moral Re-Armament is seeping over our borders.” Small wonder that even before the war, the Nazis banned MRA literature. Their invading armies had instructions to suppress MRA wherever they went.

Were these facts not in themselves a tribute to Buchman’s effectiveness? And might not history have taken a different turning, if the democracies had themselves been armed with an ideology of change and known how to

bring it to Germany and to every nation in the years between the wars?

To-day when events have been successively proving the rightness of Buchman's ideological insight, while continuing to stress the danger of Communism he has increasingly emphasised that anti-Communism is not a cure. The answer, he says, lies in a moral and spiritual ideology adequate to cure the moral weaknesses in our civilisation and creative enough to win the allegiance of masses of people in every land who justifiably look for change. "The only sure victory," he says, "lies in this compelling answer backed by the sure right arm of military strength, so that our statesmen may not be out-thought, and our armies out-fought."

II

Through the war years, Buchman fought ceaselessly for the creation of that ideological clarity and moral strength which he saw to be essential both for the winning of the war and in order to provide the basis of a lasting peace.

As early as June, 1941, for example, six months before Pearl Harbour, he said in Philadelphia:

"The aim of Moral Re-Armament is a nation fortified against attack from within and without. It is a national necessity.

"Moral Re-Armament creates the qualities that make democracy function. It gives to every man the inner discipline he needs and the inner liberty he desires. It calls out and combines the moral and spiritual responsibility of individuals for their immediate sphere of action.

"It builds for democracy an unshakable framework of actively selfless and self-giving citizens, whose determination to bring unity cannot be altered by any beckoning of

personal advantage and who know how to pass along to others their panic-proof experience of the guidance of God.

"These men are true fighters — patriots who have been fighting daily over long periods to bring this needed boon to our nation They are out to break the bottleneck of confusion and division and to anticipate the strategy of the subversive forces."

It was at this time that Mr. Truman, then Chairman of the Senate Committee for the investigation of America's war effort, said that he "felt a fresh certainty about the safety and security of America because of the evidence everywhere I go of the spread of Moral Re-Armament."

At the war's end Buchman was in San Francisco when the Conference met to draft the United Nations Charter. A group of delegates invited him to present the programme of Moral Re-Armament through the medium of *The Forgotten Factor* to the members of the Conference. Coming in the middle of the protracted and at times dispiriting debates on the terms of the UN Charter, it stirred such enthusiasm that more performances had to be arranged. Invitations multiplied from delegates asking Buchman to bring trained task forces to assist in the reconstruction of their war-ravaged countries.

The world response to this ideology has led a British diplomat to evaluate Buchman's work in these words: "The first point is that he saw the significance of this underlying ideological struggle years ahead of most other public figures, and his published speeches over the past ten and fifteen years prove it.¹ But he did not stop there. He did a second thing. He faced the consequences of this ideological struggle and began to think out what democracy's answering positive ideology was. And then he did a third thing. He built a world force of people ideologic-

¹*Remaking The World* (Blandford Press).

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ally equipped and living out the answer in their own lives. And that is Moral Re-Armament."

The spirit in this world-wide force is reflected in the preamble to the Articles of Incorporation of Moral Re-Armament in the United States:

"Riches, reputation or rest have been for none of us the motives of association.

"Our learning has been the truth as revealed by the Holy Spirit.

"Our security has been the riches of God in Christ Jesus.

"Our unity as a world-wide family has been in the leadership of the Holy Spirit and our love for one another.

"Our joy comes in our common battle for a change of heart to restore God to leadership.

"Our aim has been the establishment of God's Kingdom here on earth in the hearts and wills of men and women everywhere, the building of a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world.

"Our reward has been in the fulfilment of God's Will."¹

III

Although statesmen have sought his aid, sometimes publicly and more often privately, although he is humanly speaking the leader of a major world force, yet Buchman has never lost his humour, and his unique caring for individuals and their needs has grown through the years.

In this task of remaking the world to which he has dedicated himself he has shown another great quality rare in our time, of developing and training others to take responsibility. He often says, "You have never succeeded

¹ From *The Oxford Group* by J. P. Thornton-Duesbery. See page 217.

unless you have trained ten men to do your work better than you can do it yourself." The continuance of his life work is secured for the future by the principle of revolutionary teamwork. Through it, cells and national teams have already been built in all countries of the world to which there is free access of a moral and spiritual ideology, and even behind the Iron Curtain.

His love for people, his sensitiveness to their needs and failures, his gift for creating in them the will to live their best, is an art. It is the secret of the growth of his work. It is an art which he says can be normal for every man. A Scottish miner, Peter O'Connor, said of an interview which he had with Frank Buchman, "In my half hour with you I was helped more than by any other living soul." To which Buchman commented, "It was not my art. It is God's art."

To receive guidance from God is for him as normal an experience as eating or sleeping. He often remarks that "God gave a man two ears and one mouth. He ought to listen twice as much as he talks."

"Just as television is that space-conquering vision on the material plane," he once said in a world broadcast, "so guidance is the far-seeing perception on the spiritual. It is limited only by our capacity for disciplined obedience.

"Guidance is when we are in communication with God. The first step in re-orientating our minds to God is to listen twice as much as we talk. This is a simple programme of how to begin. Yet here lies the strategy to win the world from her egocentric ways. For immediately self is the centre of the picture, there war has begun, whether in individuals or in nations. Fear is another kind of guidance. People are afraid, and so they will not fight the daily battle against selfishness.

"Guidance is an absolute necessity and the irreducible

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minimum to keep millions spiritually and physically alive. It is the nation's life-blood. Without it nations perish. Statesmen living this quality of life will make it possible for the Mind of God to become the mind of nations. Through lack of this quality in their statesmanship, nations sell their birthright. 'If we are not governed by God, we will be ruled by tyrants,' said William Penn."

IV

Since engaging on this work thirty years ago Buchman has never had a permanent home. His force of fully trained personnel is in the hundreds. They work without salary, yet they never go hungry. Together with hundreds of thousands of men and women, ranging from housewives to Cabinet Ministers, they live out the truth that there is enough for everybody's need, but not for everybody's greed, and that when we care enough and share enough everybody has enough. Says Frank Buchman of this fact, "Where God guides, He provides."

Thousands of people convinced of the basic necessity of this answer sacrifice to advance this revolutionary force. There have rarely been large gifts. There have been thousands of small gifts not from surplus, but from sacrifice. His work is financed and maintained in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour." From the early days Frank Buchman's work has advanced through the sacrifices of those who believe in it. Men offer for the faith they hold most dear the things they count most precious. People have given of their wages, their capital, their houses, their savings.

In Britain, for example, dockers, miners and shop stewards in many parts of the country have formed fighting funds. Workers may if they choose contribute to them. This enables their delegations to come to Caux and contribute to the running of the Assembly there.

A former European Communist, asked whether industrialists contributed to the funds of Moral Re-Armament, replied, "Some do. I wish more did. Every worker should rejoice when businessmen begin to invest in a force that is fighting effectively for social justice and a new world order."

The spirit of sacrifice among those at the heart of the work who, like Buchman himself, have given everything in the battle for a rebuilt world, wins a response from those who hear the message of MRA.

Those who have seen a new spirit transforming their homes, their industries and their communities wish to do all they can to make this essential commodity available to others. People spontaneously make gifts from what they have—hospitality, time, talents, food and other gifts in kind as well as money. At Caux, for example, such gifts were received as coal from the Ruhr, eggs and butter from Denmark, cutlery from Sheffield and coffee from Kenya.

The accounts of MRA are audited yearly and deposited with the authorities according to regulation.¹

Under the Income Tax Act of 1918 the incorporated body of the Oxford Group in Great Britain is now recognised as a charity, and is entitled to the accompanying privileges, including the right to reclaim tax on gifts received under covenant.

¹ In Britain, the accountants are Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Company.

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Some give to the work as and when they can. Others covenant to give regular sums for a specific period of years. There are also sales of MRA literature, and sums from these sales are available for the general purpose of the work.

It is fair to say that the traditional economic theories of "enlightened self-interest" have landed the world in a mess. Frank Buchman is demonstrating on a world front the practical effectiveness of the economics of unselfishness.

Every pound in MRA goes far further than in any commercial concern or government department. The advance of the work has been out of all proportion to the size of its budget. For when workers, however highly qualified or experienced, give service without salary, administrative costs are cut to a fraction. Hotels, garages, printing, medical and dental care are often provided free or at a minimum cost by those in every nation who wish to spread this ideology around the world.

Large numbers of people, themselves in regular work but who may have little money to contribute, give up week-ends and evenings to undertake many necessary services.

Every activity of MRA is planned to combine the greatest advance of the work with the most economic use of funds and services so sacrificially provided.

Frank Buchman is a man with a host of friends across the world. His services to the Greek nation were recently acknowledged by King Paul who made him a Commander of the Royal Order of King George I of Greece.¹

¹ See page 219.

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What he esteems most in life, however, is the friendship of innumerable men and women, whether former Communists or military and industrial leaders.

Typical is this letter received from a changed veteran Communist leader in the Ruhr, twenty-five years a member of the Party until he met Frank Buchman:

"The fight is tough but it is a fine thing and I am grateful to be able to be in it with my family. The Good must conquer. All my spare time I spend in talking with people about this ideology and also, as well as I can, I try to live as an example of it. I have many human mistakes and weaknesses to overcome, and my family also. God has to help us time and time again. But of one thing I am certain, I have never been so happy and so contented as I am to-day. That I owe to you.

"Now I must stop this pen-work and give you warmest greetings from all my family which consists of myself, my wife, my daughter and my son-in-law. At the same time I wish you the best of health.

"But above all I wish success to this wonderful ideology in all lands, so that mankind can once again become happy."

Chapter Eleven

THE WORLD REBUILT

UNDER THE HEADING "Marxist Ideology—Moral Re-Armament as an Alternative", a report in *The Times* of 2nd October, 1950, said, "Its purpose has been to develop an alternative ideology to Marxist materialism, sufficiently strong to unite the democratic world in answer to the Marxist challenge." And it defined the aim of Moral Re-Armament as "the evolution of an ideology with an expansive power greater than that with which the democratic countries are confronted and forcible enough to cross the Iron Curtain, to be propagated by a world organisation of convinced and trained people."¹

The Moral Re-Armament of men and nations is to-day a factor in world affairs. It cannot be ignored. Marxists *are* finding a new thinking. France and Germany *are* reaching a new level of unity. The peoples of the East and of the West *are* discovering a common destiny in the ideology of change. Workers and employers in the steel mills and docks, the mines and the factories *are* creating a new pattern for the wealth and labour of mankind. Youth *is* being captured by a creative enthusiasm. Military leaders *are* finding the secret of total preparedness.

Where else is there a world force with a world strategy to out-revolutionise Communism and so to change it?

¹ See page 220.

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In many ways the democratic nations stand in much the same position towards Communism to-day as they stood toward Nazism in 1939.

But Moral Re-Armament offers humanity a third choice. It need not this time be either world dictatorship or world war. It can be a world rebuilt—with everyone playing his part in the rebuilding of it.

This is an age of battling faiths. It is an era when ideas struggle for supremacy in human minds. This is true whether we realise it or not, whether we like it or not.

We cannot escape our own destiny. A new age is being born. It is our decision what the nature of that age will be.

Four historic trends are now reaching their climax. All have happened in the last two generations.

One is the decline of the traditional faith of the West. This is the result of the industrial revolution and of the scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century. The moulding-power of home and church have been shaken.

Secondly and simultaneously mankind has been confronted with a dynamic alternative. Materialism has been rationalised, thought-through as never before and made the key to a fresh interpretation of history.

Thirdly, the slumbering millions of Asia and Africa have at this very moment begun to awaken to full consciousness. They are searching for a faith and a philosophy on which to ground their new-won freedom and to establish their nationhood.

Finally, in the same two generations world communications have been transformed. So ideas, true or false, good or bad, spread their influence by wireless, films and mass newspapers with a speed undreamt-of by our forefathers. The shape of a new age can be architected with great speed.

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These four converging trends put us at a point of choice more fateful than any other generation has faced in the past 500 years. Which way shall we go? Will it be world dictatorship, world war or a world rebuilt?

The only way to rebuild the world is through changing human nature. There is no faster way, there are no panaceas. MRA grapples with realities. It has no illusions about the immensity of the task or about the heat of the battle. But it is inspired by a mass of evidence grounded on personal experience. Its stronghold is faith. For MRA not only throws a searchlight on history but at the same time satisfies the deepest hunger in the human heart.

When Edison in his laboratory pioneered his experiments and for the first time electric light shone forth, many people may have doubted how far and how fast that light would travel. Yet, looking back on the event, its world-wide acceptance was from that first moment certain. For a new illumination had come to men.

In the same way Buchman's pioneering of the right ideology, and of a force to carry it to the millions has from its early days been destined to become a world-changing force.

First the creation of a *bridgehead* of cells of changed men in every continent.

Then the *build-up* of a force equipped by years of training to carry the ideology to the masses.

Then the *break-out* across the world.

That third stage has begun. And the pace is quickening. From Caux and from similar training centres in other countries, from homes and factories and Cabinets where men have been mastered by the ideology and so become the masters of it, streams of new life are swelling towards the four corners of the earth.

With the ideology of Moral Re-Armament, democracy

can begin to recapture the initiative in this new ideological age.

For centuries, man's quest of freedom was the spearhead of human progress in the political, economic and social spheres. Democracy was the leader in the forward march of man.

But too often in the age of ideologies democracy has found itself on the defensive—out-manœuvred, unconvincing and, occasionally, secretly unconvinced. Too often the democratic trumpet has had an uncertain sound.

Moral Re-Armament is democracy's answer. It is a universal ideology with a universal strategy and a universal appeal. It can become, must become normal living for all men.

It proclaims that the destiny of our age is not death but life, not oblivion but renaissance, and that democracy, morally rearmed, can be the pioneer.

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I

THE DESTINY OF EAST AND WEST

This address was given by Dr. Buchman on Whitsunday, 1950, in the Hans Sachs Haus at Gelsenkirchen. The speech was broadcast by all the West German radio stations and by RIAS in Berlin. It was re-broadcast throughout the world, and carried in the world press.

MARXISTS ARE FINDING a new thinking in a day of crisis. The class struggle is being superseded. Management and labour are beginning to live the positive alternative to class war.

Can you imagine Marxists so different that their employers say of them, "They are our best friends"? Can you imagine an industrialist so different that workers ask to see his passport before they will believe the miracle of his change? These things are true. They are happening. They are the one hope of finding unity for all. Is there any difference between West and East when this becomes a fact?

Is change for all the one basis of unity for all? Can Marxists be changed? Can they have this new thinking? Can Marxists pave the way for a greater ideology? Why not? They have always been open to new things. They have been forerunners. They will go to prison for their belief. They will die for their belief. Why should they not be the ones to live for this superior thinking?

Two Marxists came to Caux. A third was sent after them to bring them home. He, too, came back changed. People cajoled him. They tried to trick him. But he has become an outstanding example to Communist and non-Communist alike of this new thinking. He goes to the Prime Ministers of the

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North. They are interested because they are looking for a hope akin to this one, a hope that a mighty miracle is possible on a large scale, reaching the millions in this day and age.

This Marxist met one of the great leaders of the North, a man of different outlook and tradition. But he saw in that man one who lived the eternal sense of brotherhood. "There's a real man," he said. It bridged for him a gulf in his mind.

Change soon becomes the talking point of a nation. The diplomat who has all the answers at his fingertips, but is confused about this one, comes to talk about it. He begins to invite in his friends and they talk about it. It is a wonder to them that Marxists should have this new thinking that is the answer to division.

In a country which is one of the world's hot spots the divisions are so apparent that everyone says, "They certainly need to change." They have all the thinking, all the tradition, all the outward trappings of religion which could make an answer possible if they were willing. But they have been sitting there like encased mummies until a woman, a Member of Parliament, takes some of the principles of Jeanne d'Arc and leaps into the fray. Naturally they oppose her at first. They hold a solemn council and tell her she will lose her job. She gives them the truth she knows. She had seen with her own eyes in Germany how Marxists had discovered the secret of this new thinking. She found a response. Prejudices were removed. She was the satisfied inquirer who could give new truth. Everywhere she went she found people wanting it for their own lives.

She came to Northern France. There she found the workers in wool and in textiles, the employers, the socialist Mayor, the conservative industrialists, all beginning to find a solution they had not dreamt of before. They were impressed to learn that their Foreign Minister, M. Robert Schuman, had said, "Here is something we must look into. It has the hall mark of reality. It has the old truths. It doesn't deny the old truths. It makes them live."

This is the same wise statesman who says, "We must find

something that over-arches all our differences and gives us unity."

In Italy in this Holy Year one finds a deep desire to advance to a new level of national and international living. One of the greatest Italian industrialists, speaking to his colleagues, said that MRA was the way to a better world. His words were echoed by the guest of honour, the leading industrialist of France, who said, "All our pacts and all our economic arrangements will be successful only if they are undergirded by the spirit of unity I saw in Caux."

To-day we must know how to reconstruct nations. Not your own nation perhaps. Some may say, "We won the war." But take a nation like Japan which lost the war, and is in the throes of struggling to her feet. There are many forces at work. There are those who are bitter because they have lost their privileges, and there are Marxists who have not yet found this new thinking that can avert crisis. They need to be won. They divide a nation. Just as in Eastern and Western Germany there is bitterness because of division, so also in Japan. And there are statesmen who are finding their way, fighting against opposing tendencies, and they need the unity that comes as the grace of rebirth. It is not easy in countries like these, but it is the only possible way.

But Japan has met this new thinking. Thirty-four of her leaders came to Caux last summer—the first Socialist Prime Minister, the former Minister of Finance, the representatives of the two great newspapers, the former Ambassador to Washington, members of the Mitsui family. And now all are being reached, leaders in national life, governors of provinces, heads of newspapers, whose task is to mirror for a nation its true destiny, the workers on the railroad, those who work that others may ride, from the least of them to the man who is their president. In a leading article the *Nippon Times* writes, "Moral Re-Armament is affording the Japanese people a chance to live and to practise democracy. Democracy can become an even greater force for good in Japan as in other nations if the people translate into action what is now too

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often mere lip-service. MRA works on the simplest of formulas. Its basis is the individual, from all walks of life and from any nation. He is asked to observe in his daily activities the basic tenets of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. His spiritual regeneration will affect and influence others around him and by spreading from one person to another would permeate and move a whole nation."

MRA works for all—for every man everywhere. The Chief Justice of Japan, probably the leading Catholic layman, writes, "I am expecting much from Moral Re-Armament."

And what of Southern Asia, where teeming millions came to independence only to find their new-won liberty threatened by their own disunity? A Foreign Minister from that part of the world says, "Moral Re-Armament is as important as the atom bomb." He sees that it opens the door to a new unity, between different races, different classes, different nations, based on an experience of change for all.

A great statesman in the East said, "I am deeply in sympathy with the basic concepts of your work." He spoke of the failure of character to keep pace with knowledge and of the need for leadership. "Some place the theologians missed the boat and the timing became wrong," he continued. "Sometimes the forces that could help give the most difficulty. In some countries newspaper writers make their livelihood by character assassination. They destroy a man's confidence in himself, and then they destroy public confidence in him, and they feel they have no responsibility themselves. In other countries it is the whole system of life that cripples leadership."

That is the problem. The Press must become the inspirer of statesmen and the herald of a new world. The system of life must change so that every man everywhere takes responsibility and feels himself part of a mighty plan for the remaking of the world. As it is, our thinking is awry. We expect to differ instead of to agree. Yet wherever Moral Re-Armament goes it creates unity. It averts conflicts. It settles strikes. Instead of the news that a strike has broken out, I receive a telegram from

a great industrial city to say that the head of the union and a leading employer propose that management and labour celebrate together the anniversary of Moral Re-Armament on a city-wide scale. That could be normal because that is the result of change.

A nationalist leader from Africa comes to Europe. Bitter political quarrels have divided the leaders of his own people. He feels he has to choose between East and West for his country's salvation. In London his fellow-countrymen tell him of Moral Re-Armament. He changes his plans and comes to Caux. He finds an answer that unites East and West. Before he leaves for Africa he cables his political enemies at home to meet him at the airport. They are the first people he greets. They find he has changed and they want to work with him. Six months later one of his close friends says of him, "A new atmosphere has been brought into our national politics since he became reconciled with his political enemies and has shown the truth of not who is right, but what is right, in his leadership." The five newspapers he owns can carry this new spirit to the whole nation. Division begins to change into unity for thirty million people.

Across the world the docks are a battlefield because who controls the docks controls the lifeline of nations. Management is baffled. Governments set up inquiries. Trade union leaders call in vain for discipline. But the trouble goes on. Men are dissatisfied and their dissatisfaction is exploited by the forces of division. Then Moral Re-Armament comes into the picture. Here is the word of a dock leader, the editor of a dockers' paper, and one of the men responsible at the time of the big London dock strike of last summer. He has found the answer. He writes, "Just a letter to let you know what the ideology of Moral Re-Armament and guidance with God has meant to me in the past ten months. Guidance has been the means of settling two dock disputes in this time, and what a difference guidance means to myself, my wife and family! I have a great partner in my life, Nellie my wife, who is a great fighter, and by taking guidance with her we have got over

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many a difficult problem. Take, for instance, the dispute in Tooley Street where I was guided to take a hand in it myself. After the employer, union and workers could not agree, I went to the employer and stated the truthful facts. He invited me into his office, and I proved to him not who is right, but what is right, and by us talking together on the MRA ideology, he called the union officials in, and within an hour of our meeting the strike was settled.

"You may have read of the recent dock dispute. You can rest assured that it was chaps like myself who, with the guidance of God, got the men to go back to work. Had we not had guidance the strike would have still been in progress. When you have guidance with God you see a different light. If only the governments of the world took guidance with God as I have taken guidance in the past ten months, we would have a world at peace in our time."

A few weeks ago an old friend of mine died. He was a Frenchman of the Frenchmen, and lived in Alsace. For the last twenty years he had lived to bring unity between his own country and Germany. As he lay dying, his thoughts were clouded by a sense of the division in the world, and he said in French, "I am afraid of what I see coming." Then he was quiet, and then in a strong voice he spoke in German, and these were his last words, "There must come reconciliation between the nations. There must come unity between the nations." His family wrote me that he died with a smile of Heaven on his lips.

Everyone agrees that unity is our one hope. It is the true destiny of France and Germany to-day. It is the destiny of East and West. The alternative is divide and die. Moral Re-Armament offers the world the last chance for every nation to change and survive, to unite and live.

The collected speeches of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman are available under the title of Remaking the World, which is now published in Chinese, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Japanese, Norwegian and Swedish. An Italian edition is in preparation.

II

THE SUPERIOR IDEOLOGY

Dr. Heinz Grohs, an official in the Ministry of Labour, North Rhine-Westphalia, organised throughout the Düsseldorf area the training in Marxist dialectics of works council members responsible for 100,000 workers. He visited Caux during 1949 and 1950, where he made the following speech:

I AM BY TRAINING a lawyer and that means I am used to weighing everything up carefully and coolly. I know that all of us stand in the middle of a world spiritual revolution of the greatest importance.

All of you have experienced here personally how in a few days a spiritual change can take place in one of those representatives of great business, and such change represents the greatest hope we can have. We know that it is the beginning of a new era in the world brought in by a spiritual revolution, of which we are not only the witnesses but the actual carriers. We are the bearers of a revolution which begins with the change in an individual, and which goes into the family, into political life and into industry. In this way the ideology of Caux has become the only genuine answer to the challenge of Communism which we possess in the world to-day.

As a German Social Democrat, I am forced to say that we Socialists in Germany, until now, have not found that answer. We have not hitherto found the answer to the great spiritual need of our German nation, nor to the apathy and lack of spiritual content of German youth to-day. We do not know the answer to the nihilism of our time. And that is why we ourselves as trade unionists were so glad that Hans Böckler, the first President of the German Trade Union Congress of the British Zone, made this statement from this platform:

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If men are to be free from the old and the outmoded, it can only happen as they set themselves a new goal, and place in the forefront humanity and moral values. I believe that Moral Re-Armament can bring about a definite improvement for mankind in many areas of life. When men change, the structure of society changes, and when the structure of society changes, men change. Both go together and both are necessary. The goal which Moral Re-Armament strives to reach is the same as that for which I am fighting as a trade unionist.

The millions of Germany are looking for an answer that gives them more than just bread and housing, an answer to the great spiritual need that lies in Germany. As a German Socialist, I have found this answer here in Caux. It is madness to think that we can conquer the spirit of materialism, whether in capitalism or in the international world order, unless we first conquer the spirit of materialism in ourselves.

We Germans have recognised that in the past we took a wrong path. And we have taken a great load of blame on ourselves in these last years. Millions of women in other countries have lost their husbands. Millions of children have lost their fathers. And think of the millions that we have driven from their homes. That is the guilt that we have. We ask forgiveness. And with all our power we want to help and work along with others to try and build a peaceful community of nations.

There is one other thing about which we must speak quite openly as Socialists, as trade unionists, and as Marxists. Hitherto we have had no answer to Hiroshima and to the atom bomb. This answer can only be found as we find a united spiritual foundation on which all nations can unite. Only the ideology of Moral Re-Armament can bridge the gulf between East and West, between nation and nation, and between capital and labour. That can be done neither by Marxism nor by class warfare. For a long enough time I have been training the works council members in the Düsseldorf

A COMMUNIST'S TEN POINTS

area in the tactics of class warfare, and I know how much hatred and how much bitterness we have spread abroad in the hearts of men by these means. There is no other way except the way of Caux.

III

A COMMUNIST'S TEN POINTS

Mr. Max Bladeck, Works Council Chairman in the Rheinpreussen Coal Mining Company, Moers, and for twenty-five years a member of the West German Communist Party, made the following statement at Caux in July, 1950:

I WANT TO TELL YOU why I, a former Communist, am now a fighter for MRA. Here are some of my reasons:

1. Moral Re-Armament puts people before things.
2. It brings people together in Germany and in the whole world and can bring a new age of justice. It is the only ideology in which people of all religions and all confessions can come together on the basis of the four absolute moral standards.
3. It gives to each person in a democracy a sense of responsibility.
4. It is not anti-anything, and from the two opposing sides, management and labour, it develops the positive forces and unites them in the way which is in the best interests of the workers and of the whole country.
5. It puts every statesman who lives according to these principles above party and enables him to work for the good of all the people.
6. Moral Re-Armament is the only ideology which does not set man against man but shows how to win enemies by love, and in this way it fights for world peace.
7. It gives to every nation a political and economic plan

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which can produce a new era of peace and real happiness for mankind.

8. This ideology, if it is accepted by people, will prevent war and therefore will preserve the basic life of humanity and its culture. It will fight with everything it has to produce the right development and progress of humanity.

9. It creates sound family life and, beyond that, sound national life and a sound world.

10. It knows no foreigners. It brings all races and all classes together in the unity of goodwill and makes them into a real united nations of the heart.

Do you know any ideology that can do more than that? That is why I fight with all my faith and all my strength for this ideology.

IV

THE GESTAPO REPORT ON THE OXFORD GROUP

The Gestapo report, Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung, was compiled in 1942 by the Head Office of the Reich Security Department. The discovery of this 126 page document during the German retreat from France was first disclosed in an Associated Press dispatch by the distinguished American columnist, DeWitt Mackenzie. On 29th December, 1945, the following letter appeared in The Times:

CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY

A NAZI DOCUMENT

SIR,

Nazi Germany's determination to destroy Christianity has been apparent for many years, but nowhere has it been more categorically stated than in a secret Gestapo report which has now been discovered. As this document has received less

THE GESTAPO REPORT ON THE OXFORD GROUP

attention than it deserves, we trust that you will allow us to set some brief extracts before your readers.

The document, which, as its title page states, was prepared by the head office of the Reich Security Department, concerns Dr. Buchman and the Oxford Group. It denounces them for "uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism" in that "they encourage their members to place themselves fully beneath the Christian Cross and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ." "Frankly, the importance of the Group lies here," the document continues. "At the very moment when we (the Nazi Party) are making efforts to suppress Christian conviction of sin, which appears to us the first step towards the enslavement of the German, a movement is emanating from the Anglo-Saxons, who are racially related to us, which regards just this consciousness of sin as a basis for change in national relationships."

The document further states that the secret police regarded the movement as "the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy" and as a force working "to bring about new political and ideological conditions in the Reich." "The Group as a whole," it says, "constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the National State, and has quite evidently become its Christian opponent."

Speaking of the influence of the campaign for moral re-armament the report continues:

"If one considers the names of the chief propagandists for Buchman's call to moral re-armament in England and elsewhere, the political counterpart of the movement becomes plain: the Jewish Western democracies. Nor is there any room for doubting against whom this whole campaign was directed, bearing in mind the year in which it took place, 1938, the year when—as it was said—Germany attacked little Austria with brutal force. . . . The Group breathes the spirit of Western democracy. It supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims. The Group and the democracies

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supplement each other and render each other's work fruitful."

The whole report throws an interesting light on the Nazi mind, as well as finally dispelling the widespread misrepresentations which have been circulated about this Christian movement. We hope that a full translation will be made available to the British public. For it is vital that we should understand the spiritual foundations of democracy as clearly as did our enemies, and that we should sustain with all our strength what they feared and hoped to destroy.

This letter was signed by:

Lord Ammon, Labour Peer and a former Chairman of the London County Council; Harold Clay, then Chairman of the London Labour Party; Lord Courthope, then President of the Union of Conservative Associations of Great Britain; the Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Edward Woods; Sir Lynden Macassey, then Chairman of Reuters; Sir Cyril Norwood, then President of St. John's College, Oxford; Sir David Ross, then Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and recently Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

V

"WELL-KNOWN COMMUNIST GOES IN FOR MRA"

Under this headline, Arbeiderbladet, the official newspaper of the Norwegian Socialist Government, on 12th October, 1950, reported an interview with Mr. Hans Bjerkholt, a founder of the Communist Party in Norway in 1923, since then a member of the National Executive. He was a delegate to the Comintern making three visits to Moscow. Since 1936 he has been a full-time official of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Norway, and is the Secretary of the Trades Council for Østfold. He made the following speech at the World Assembly at Caux.

SINCE I WAS sixteen years old I have fought on the extreme left wing of the workers' movement. I have linked my fate to

“WELL-KNOWN COMMUNIST GOES IN FOR MRA”

the fate of the workers. Much has happened. Under the capitalist system there was a fairly quiet development from the turn of the century to the beginning of the first war. There was an upward trend and many of the workers got better conditions. But capitalism was not able to give real security to all the workers everywhere. The first world war upset the capitalist system. There was crisis and division in the working class.

Meanwhile, we saw the Russian Revolution, and that gave hope to all the oppressed in the world. Then came Hitler and the second world war. The Communists and the Socialists said, “Hitler means war.” Could we have stopped Hitler and another world war? I think we could if the German workers first of all could have found an ideology adequate to unite all the workers. Afterwards we found a new hope in the wonderful idea of a world free from fear and free from need. We believed that when the democracies together with the Soviet Union had destroyed Hitler, we could see a peaceful way to socialism. I was one of those who formed the programme in my country for the unity of all the workers and a peaceful way to socialism. But the sequence of events since the war has destroyed all hope of that.

To-day the struggle has brought us to the point of catastrophe. To-day it is not one class against another class, it is all classes against all classes. We have a saying, “We will fight the class war to the bitter end.” But my impression is that we are now on the brink of that bitter end. And it will not mean the bitter end just for one class but for all civilisation.

The division and confusion in the world are greater to-day than ever before. The statesmen in the Western world are seeking a way out. Conference succeeds conference and committee succeeds committee. The man in the street is bewildered, the statesmen likewise. The Prime Minister of one of the Nordic lands said in a meeting of the workers the other day, “We must find a common denominator which will unite us all.”

Is there a way out to-day? I believe there is. I have seen that human beings can be changed. I believe we can find an

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ideology which unites everyone above class, above race. The question is, what can I do? I am resolved to take the full consequences of accepting the new conception which I have found here. I am going to speak freely and frankly of these things in my organisation and in my Party. If I can change, anyone in my Party can change. Other Marxists have also spoken here while I have been here. It is a hard and heavy work we have before us. But no difficulties can prevent me from doing what I know to be right.

But if we are to have power to fight we must have an ideology. What is the secret behind the fact that the Communists have had so many defeats and yet continue to exist? It is because they are driven by an ideology. That gives them a power and a will to fight. Can we find a uniting ideology? I believe we can. We have seen the way to it here in Caux. I must begin with myself, and I have made a beginning, and come to some results already. I am going to put in everything I can to unite the workers to build a new world in which we shall all be free from need and free from fear.

VI

MILLIONS READY FOR A GREAT IDEA

At the time of the visit of The Forgotten Factor in Bremen, the following leading editorial appeared in the Bremen paper Weser Kurier, 6th February, 1950, written by the editor-in-chief, Felix von Eckardt:

THE PRESENCE of the Moral Re-Armament group in Bremen, and the performances of the industrial play *Der Vergessene Faktor*, have found an echo in all the vital intellects of our city, that has by far exceeded the expectations of the sceptics. So what has happened in other cities has been repeated in Bremen. Whatever your point of view, negative or positive, no doubt

MILLIONS READY FOR A GREAT IDEA

can be left that through Moral Re-Armament the people have been touched by something for which they have long been waiting.

There is in the millions a latent readiness to devote themselves to a great uplifting idea; to direct their goodwill for an aim; to give their life and work a meaning without which they cannot carry on their existence. They know also that mortal danger hovers over them, and that trying to meet the danger by material means alone is very questionable.

The people of Caux understand this situation. The danger that threatens Christian culture and thus Europe and all countries whose spiritual origin is in Europe, is not primarily dependent upon the means of power mobilised by the Communists, nor upon tanks, planes and atom bombs, but upon people who have themselves subscribed to the Communist ideology. Indeed the latter as idealists have a claim to the respect even of those who think otherwise.

Because millions know this danger, or in any case feel it unconsciously, they are not wholly reassured nor given a feeling of inner security by the might of the Western democracies, even though this might is so immense as to lend a sense of outward security.

Why does not the power of the West reassure or, when it does, only partially? Because the inner foundation of real power is lacking, the ideology to which material power is subordinate; the ideology that in extreme emergency even gives the use of force a moral justification. . . .

We have said that millions of people to-day lack something, since democracy without an ideological basis loses itself in cutward mechanics which cannot satisfy man, nor free him from fear, nor give him the capacity for sacrifice. Moral Re-Armament supplies this lack by giving the democratic system a moral foundation.

Caux has set itself to the task of filling the Christian teaching with new life-blood; of plunging into the middle of the problems of our time; saying to man that the changing of men and systems must always begin with man himself, that we

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must free ourselves from hatred and mistrust, that the road to reconciliation between the millions starts not with putting a moral challenge to your neighbour but with putting it to yourself, because only by your personal example can you decisively affect the world around you.

Beliefs that come from inner conviction do not lose their value when someone rejects them as "old".

The people of MRA do not try to answer this argument by theoretical discussion. They prove the durability of their ideology by living it. Their world influence can be traced far beyond the expectations of so-called "realist" politicians, and it is this that gives them the happy inner certainty of being on the right road. Innumerable men and women who know the danger that threatens Christendom will follow on this road, because to-day the durability of the Caux movement is no longer an illusion but a reality.

VII

ROBERT SCHUMAN AND MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

The Foreword by M. Robert Schuman, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the French edition of Dr. Frank Buchman's speeches, published in 1950, reads as follows:

THE EDITORS of these speeches have decided to entrust the writing of the preface to a man in political life, a Cabinet Minister in office. We have to admit, however, that thus far statesmen have been only moderately successful in "remaking the world". The fact remains that it is their duty, more than anyone else's, to apply themselves to this task; and it is to their advantage to welcome every assistance offered to them.

If we were being presented with some new scheme for the public welfare or another theory to be added to the many already put forward, I should remain sceptical. But what

Moral Re-Armament brings us is a philosophy of life applied in action.

It does not claim to have invented a new system of morals. For the Christian, the moral teaching of Christianity is enough, and he draws from it all the principles which must guide his life as a man and as a citizen.

What we do need, and what is quite new, is a school where, by a process of mutual teaching, we can work out our practical behaviour toward others; a school where Christian principles are not only applied and proven in the relationships of man to man, but succeed in overcoming the prejudices and enmities which separate classes, races and nations.

To begin by creating a moral climate in which true brotherly unity can flourish, overarching all that to-day tears the world apart—that is the immediate goal.

The acquisition of wisdom about men and their affairs by bringing people together in public assemblies and personal encounters—that is the means employed.

To provide teams of trained men, ready for the service of the state, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world, that is the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society in which, during fifteen war-ravaged years, the first steps have already been made.

It is not a question of a change of policy; it is a question of changing men. Democracy and her freedoms can be saved only by the quality of the men who speak in her name.

That is what Dr. Buchman expresses in simple and moving words. He has declared war on materialism and individualism, twin generators of our selfish divisions and social injustices.

May he be heard and followed more and more, in all nations of the world, by those who to-day still clash in fratricidal hatred.

While Prime Minister of France, in 1948, M. Schuman sent the following message to the Tenth Anniversary Assembly for Moral Re-Armament:

Governments are at grips with grave and difficult material problems of feeding, production, wages and prices. They see

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peace between nations endangered by the prejudices of race and by the rivalry of conflicting interests. Inside nations people are seeking the reconciliation of liberty with authority and an understanding between the classes. I salute in Moral Re-Armament one of the protagonists of inspired democracy which is destined to re-establish the supremacy of all the spiritual values at the heart of our tormented humanity.

VIII

DR. ADENAUER WELCOMES MORAL RE- ARMAMENT

The following is the text of a letter from Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the West German Republic, to Dr. Frank Buchman welcoming the plan to hold a demonstration of Moral Re-Armament at Whitsun, 1950, in the Ruhr:

DEAR DR. BUCHMAN,

Moral Re-Armament, which you created and for which you conceived the plan in Germany when you were staying in Freudenstadt, has become universally known in post-war Germany. I think of the great success which the team of Moral Re-Armament has achieved with *The Forgotten Factor* in the Ruhr. As a result of it, extensive circles in politics, business and labour have come into contact with the idea of Moral Re-Armament. Furthermore, numerous leading statesmen, leaders of the trade unions and of industry and commerce have followed the invitation to take part in the annual conferences at Caux. They were grateful for the opportunity which Caux offered to discuss the urgent problems of Germany on a world basis and in an atmosphere of wholehearted co-operation with representatives from all the nations in which personal liberty is guaranteed.

HERR KARL ARNOLD'S INVITATION

I believe that in view of the offensive of totalitarian ideas in the East of Germany, the Federal Republic, and within it the Ruhr, is the given platform for a demonstration of the idea of Moral Re-Armament. I therefore welcome your plan to hold a conference and a public demonstration of Moral Re-Armament at Whitsun in the Ruhr, to which delegates would be invited from all parts of the world.

With best regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

ADENAUER.

IX

HERR KARL ARNOLD'S INVITATION

In May, 1950, Herr Karl Arnold, Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia and then President of the Bundesrat, extended to Dr. Frank Buchman the following invitation:

THE WORK OF Moral Re-Armament has proved through the years that it is capable of awakening new creative forces in Germany and Europe. From the reports I have received I am convinced that the demonstration and conference which Moral Re-Armament plans to hold in the Ruhr will be especially well calculated to achieve further success on the road you have pioneered.

I would be most happy if it would be possible for you to come to Germany during these days. I therefore have the honour of extending to you a warm invitation to come here and I know that the heads of several Land Governments welcome the proposal and plan to take part in the events.

ARNOLD.

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*Statement to the Press issued from the office of the President
of the Bundesrat, Herr Karl Arnold, Bonn, 19th May, 1950.*

It is in view of the extreme urgency of the European and world situation and of the unique position of Germany between East and West, that the Federal Chancellor and the President of the Bundesrat are taking the initiative in welcoming a public demonstration of Moral Re-Armament at Whitsun in the Ruhr.

The idea of Moral Re-Armament is not new in Germany. Two years ago all the Minister-Presidents of the German Länder in the British and American zones, in a joint telegram to Dr. Buchman on his seventieth birthday, described this ideology as "the indispensable foundation for peace and the reconstruction of Europe and the world."

Since then Moral Re-Armament has become universally known throughout this country; 140,000 Germans in twenty-four cities, representing all parties, classes and professions, have seen the ideological plays, *The Good Road* and *The Forgotten Factor*. This past winter *The Forgotten Factor* has been presented in Hamburg and Bremen by invitation of the Lord Mayors and Senates of those two cities, and during recent weeks it has been shown to audiences totalling 25,000 in the Ruhr, centring at Gelsenkirchen.

Those who have invited Dr. Buchman to Germany at this time believe that the entire international situation could change overnight if proof were given that Europe possessed the force for a new life. The purpose of these Whitsun events, in the industrial heart of Europe, is to provide this proof by demonstrating a basis of ideological unity for the nation which is a decisive battleground in the world war of ideas.

IMPETUS TO PRODUCTION

X

IMPETUS TO PRODUCTION

In The Spectator of 6th June, 1947, Janus wrote in "A Spectator's Notebook":

TRIBUTE SHOULD BE PAID where tribute seems to be justly due. I heard this week of a striking impetus to coal production. The manager of one of our larger mines happened—I don't know how or when—to see a performance of the Moral Re-Armament movement's play *The Forgotten Factor*, at the Westminster Theatre. He was so deeply impressed that when he got back he called together a group of his sub-managers to consider the situation as he had come to see it. Interest in the affair percolated down, and some 300 men from the pit went up to see the play—at their own expense; the fare was over thirty shillings—returning late, just in time to go straight on the night shift. The result, I am assured, is that the pit regularly tops production for its region. Let me add that the story comes to me from no Moral Re-Armament quarter, but from someone who knows the pits and pitmen of that area particularly well.

XI

IDEOLOGY IN THE PITTS

The following editorial appeared in the Stoke-on-Trent City Times on 18th June, 1948:

WHAT ARE the North Staffordshire miners after?

What brought India's Postmaster-General and Bombay's Minister of Labour to our coalfields within the space of a few

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weeks? Why have coal-face miners from North Staffordshire been invited by responsible statesmen to America and half a dozen Continental countries? Is it just because of their increasing production, or have they an invisible export that nations need even more than coal?

Now we hear that our miners are holding a national rally for Moral Re-Armament in the Victoria Hall, Hanley, under the slogan, *Europe—The Miners' Answer*.

To this they have invited mining delegations from every British coalfield, and from the coalfields of Northern France, Belgium, Holland and the Ruhr.

EXPORTING AN ANSWER

Is this just another production drive—a boost for the National Coal Board?

Heaven knows we need that; but in our opinion our miners are after something much, much bigger than that. They are beginning to export not only coal, but something which the democracies need more than anything else to-day—an inspired ideology.

It is over eighteen months now since almost any Saturday afternoon on Stoke Station you could have seen parties of miners and their wives boarding the 3.18 train for London.

To have seen them return you would have had to stay up into the small hours of Sunday morning, when a special bus would bring them back from Crewe, depositing them, tired but happy, at their homes all over North Staffordshire.

Where had they been to, and who was paying for them?

They had travelled at their own expense to the Westminster Theatre, where *The Forgotten Factor*, Moral Re-Armament's industrial play, drew crowded houses from October to April, all through that terrible winter.

Altogether more than 300 of them saw it during that time. So it was hardly surprising that the cast of *The Forgotten Factor* received a pressing invitation from the National Union of Mineworkers and from colliery officials in North Stafford-

IDEOLOGY IN THE PITS

shire. They interrupted their successful run in London for a week in the Potteries. More than 7,000 people poured into the Queen's Hall, Burslem, for the five performances.

A NEW INCENTIVE

Soon, from many pits in this area, came first-hand evidence of increased production, better teamwork between management and labour, a new incentive, and the answer to subversive forces in the industry.

At one North Staffordshire pit it was said that the under-manager would rather meet the Devil himself at the coalface than the Union Branch Secretary.

The Forgotten Factor made such a difference that they are now able to work things out together.

Recently there have been long drawn-out negotiations about prices on a new coalface, which always ended in deadlock. The Branch Secretary says, "We took an unprecedented step for North Staffordshire, and asked Coal Board and management representatives to our monthly union meeting. Discussing the matter on a basis of what's right and not who's right, we reached agreement."

A union secretary's wife says that since her husband saw *The Forgotten Factor*, fifteen months ago, their home life has been so much happier that she has fallen in love with him all over again.

Soon enough our miners realised that here was a secret they could and must export. They took the Westminster Theatre one Saturday night, and invited every pit consultative committee in Britain to *The Forgotten Factor*.

The theatre was crowded with miners and their families from all over the coalfields. Since then 150 pits have asked for the play to be brought to their areas. It has played in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Cannock Chase, North Wales and South Wales coalfields, and before industrial audiences in Wolverhampton and Birmingham.

In all these areas North Staffordshire miners have intro-

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duced the play, often travelling long distances after their day's work, and returning home the same night to be ready for the next shift at the coalface.

COALFACE TO CONGRESS

When American Congressional Committees visited Europe to make recommendations for Marshall Aid, they specially asked to meet miners from North Staffordshire and other coalfields where Moral Re-Armament is at work. One of our men from the coalface—Mr. Bill Yates—visited America last Christmas. He created such an impression there that he was recently invited to return by a Committee of Senators and Congressmen to speak at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in California.

Another spoke at a great gathering of miners and factory workers at Wuppertal in the Ruhr, and yet another introduced *l'Élément Oublié*, the French version of *The Forgotten Factor*, to the miners of Lille and Lens.

Others have visited Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and have told Cabinet Ministers, industrialists and labour leaders in those countries what is happening in North Staffordshire.

Where does the money come from for all this? You may well ask. Air and sea travel, and even rail travel, are expensive these days, and time costs money too. Some months ago the miners themselves got together and decided to start a Fighting Fund to which anyone could contribute to send their spokesmen wherever the needs of the world and their burning conviction should lead them.

Some have gone without their smokes and drinks, others have sold cherished possessions, and thousands have shared in the privilege of sacrifice for a great cause.

The personnel manager of a Black Country factory summed it up in this way: "The industrial revolution which started here changed the face of the world; the new revolutionary force of *The Forgotten Factor* will change its heart."

VALLEY OF HOPE

XII

VALLEY OF HOPE

Following the visit of The Forgotten Factor to South Wales, Jack Jones, C.B.E., author of Rhondda Roundabout, reported on its impact in an article entitled Valley of Hope, September, 1948:

IN WALES there is a valley which is famous for coal and song. It is the Rhondda Valley, the rich heart of the coalfield.

Many speakers have in times past referred to it as "the spearhead of the British revolutionary movement." It probably was, for the leader of British Communism, Harry Pollitt, was the Communist candidate for Parliament for the area and, as such, opposed and almost succeeded in defeating the Labour candidate in 1945.

Now, in 1948, something far more revolutionary than Communism has hit the Rhondda Valley. Moral Re-Armament, through the play, *The Forgotten Factor*, has started the revolution of the spirit of the community.

Greatly daring, a valiant Moral Re-Armament team, after the play had been performed for a week of seven performances in the city of Cardiff, held a great rally of thousands within the walls of the most ancient Castle of Cardiff. The play opened the following evening at the largest theatre in the Rhondda Valley, the theatre at which General Smuts, speaking on behalf of the British War Cabinet, had managed to avert a miners' strike in 1917, the most critical period of World War I.

REVOLUTION OF GOODWILL

At this theatre, from the stage of which speakers, including myself, had many times fanned the resentment of unemployed and partly-employed miners, the message of Moral Re-Armament was presented in dramatic fashion by the Mackinac Chorus and by the cast of the play, *The Forgotten Factor*.

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People stood in line waiting for admission each day, waiting for as long as three hours for admission. Thousands failed to get in, so an extra matinee had to be arranged. That failed to accommodate a tenth of the number of people wanting to see the play, so arrangements were made to perform for another week at a theatre farther up the Valley.

"A revolution of peace and goodwill, the kind of revolution we in this Valley have been waiting to take part in," said a miner who had been imprisoned for his part in one of the many great strikes which have in years past rendered the fifty mines of this Valley idle.

The vast majority of the people of this community now want to help in the fight for Moral Re-Armament. The Valley's most famous brass band, a band often heard on British radio and once at the Crystal Palace, offered to help. "Anything we can do—anywhere," said the conductor.

So the famous Parc and Dare Band supplied the music for the great miners' Moral Re-Armament Rally at Stoke-upon-Trent on Sunday following.

Hospitality on the maximum scale was provided in the Valley to the cast and the stage crew.

The Member of Parliament for the Valley introduced the play at a matinee and the chairman of the Council responsible for the administration of the Valley, which is the largest urban area in Britain, introduced the play at the evening performance. "A week of weeks for the Rhondda" was how both those men described it. These men knew what industrial strife had done for the Valley during the past half-century.

HAG-RIDDEN BY IDEOLOGIES

The people of this Valley, once so green and now so blackened by man-made mountains of pit-slag, have much to remember and more to forget. Wars and rumours of wars, strikes and rioting, explosions and sorrow, unemployment and hunger, music and joy—for despite everything the people of this Valley have always kept a song in their hearts.

Yes, while hag-ridden by a succession of ideologies which

VALLEY OF HOPE

have divided them, they have always been united in song, and it is with that song in their hearts they have welcomed Moral Re-Armament as their deliverance from the tyranny of the "isms" which have for so long directed them to roads leading nowhere.

Now, at long last, the people of the Rhondda Valley are on the good road and are emerging from the confusion worse confounded of this first-half of the twentieth century.

Now the transcending ideology of Moral Re-Armament is making the people of the Rhondda Valley members one of another, and mine-managers and miners who for years have not, in their bitterness one towards the other, spoken to each other, are now making friends and are trying to live together for the sake of what is right.

ECONOMIC SALVATION

Time was when the coal exported from the South Wales coalfield, approximately forty million tons annually, went a long way towards paying for what Britain required in the way of imports to maintain her standard of life. A growing response to the spiritual message of *The Forgotten Factor* may yet be Britain's economic salvation.

The Valley has been exalted. A new spirit has been born there, or rather the old spirit has been reborn. The people of the Rhondda Valley, the Valley of coal and song, are deeply grateful to a great American, Dr. Frank Buchman, the founder and unfailing inspiration of world-wide Moral Re-Armament. For this great gift, the saving grace of Moral Re-Armament, can make the peoples of the world real neighbours. Peoples great and small, countries ancient and modern, all races, creeds and colours, now have in Moral Re-Armament an ideology in which there is no guile and on which they can all agree. May God grant the world the sight to perceive this. Then every valley will be exalted.

XIII

NEW APPROACH TO MINING PROBLEMS

Mr. Horace Holmes, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Fuel and Power, speaking at the Caux Assembly, 1949, said:

IT IS MORE than forty-seven years since I went into the pits as a boy. Over thirty years I spent underground. For many years I took a great part in the trade union movement. And from 1902 to 1945 I helped to shape the materialistic, Marxist approach to industry. I helped to shape the hatred that sprang up between management and men.

I took part in many great fights for social reform. But now I am in a position where I can see things in a different light. It has been a joy for me to help to spread MRA into the hearts and lives of people. We still have the same problems, but we are approaching those problems from a different starting point. And I have seen great changes take place in the hearts and lives of men at all levels in the mining industry, not only in my own country but also in France.

What I saw in France I have seen in the Midlands, in my own Yorkshire, in Scotland and Wales. I have seen management and men meet as I have never seen them meet before. I have seen colliery managers and colliery trade union officials approach their problems in the light of the moral standards of MRA. I have seen men settle down with a better spirit. I have seen management approach their problems with a different attitude, and because of that, I have seen better production in as far as coal is concerned. And wherever I go I feel this same reaching out for the fundamentals that are lying in Moral Re-Armament and which are going to solve the problems of the future.

THE DILEMMA OF LABOUR

XIV

THE DILEMMA OF LABOUR

The following article by Mr. Robert Edwards, General Secretary of the British Chemical Workers' Union and Chairman of the International Committee of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, is taken from the Southern Cross, Wellington, the only Labour daily newspaper in Australasia, dated 30th August, 1950:

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT features in recent years is the influence Moral Re-Armament has had, and is having, on the whole of the Labour and Trade Union Movement of the world. During recent weeks, many well-known leaders of world Labour have found themselves impelled to visit Caux, Switzerland, and to discover there the great experiment in equality and practical Socialism that they have been aspiring to achieve throughout their lives.

The great new revolutionary force of MRA will have increasing influence on world Labour, because it has the answer to Labour's dilemma in every country. The Labour Movement was founded by men and women who dedicated themselves to build a new civilisation where co-operation would replace competition, where men and women would win freedom and security, and where the nations of the world would be united in the spirit of freedom and peace.

The pioneers of the Labour Movement, many of whom professed to be materialists and atheists, were, in fact, men of great religious fervour.

They understood the need for personal example and self-sacrifice, but as Labour has moved into power in many countries and toward power in others, this spirit of sacrifice and religious fervour has disappeared. The process within the

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Labour Movement can be summed up in four words—sacrifice, struggle, success and then stagnation.

The stagnation can be attributed to failure to deal with moral and ethical questions. We have been concerned with political and economic arguments, not with the fundamental necessity of personal change in the individual.

A mighty force, that should have captured the world and built a new civilisation, has lost impetus and is being overwhelmed by the materialistic onslaught of Russian Communism.

My first visits to the USSR, which began when I headed the youth delegation there in 1926, and met all the leaders from Trotsky to Stalin and Molotov, led me to believe that here was a social experiment that might well produce a great new civilisation, and prove itself a strong arm for peace.

Later, I was to be disillusioned and forced to look elsewhere for the answer to Labour's dilemma. This I have found at Caux.

While I was at Caux, the news of the tragic conflict in Korea burst on the world, a conflict which could involve humanity in a devastating atomic war.

Why is it that, after the tremendous sacrifice of life and wealth in a war for democracy, great military victories are turning into bitter defeats? Western democracy can win military victories, but they are not enough. You cannot impose governments on people; you can only educate people to elect their own governments, in which they can believe and place their trust.

This is not a question of institutions or organisations; it is fundamentally a moral issue that can only be decided in men's hearts by the strength of their faith and convictions.

In Eastern Europe, as in Korea, we have witnessed the advance of totalitarian materialism that has swept aside the governments of country after country as if they never existed. In many cases, the forces of Communism have been assisted by the willing help of millions of working people who have lost faith in Western democracy. They lost faith because they

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feel that the churches preach Christianity but do not practise it, that politicians are seeking personal gain, and that the West has failed to offer a realistic alternative to totalitarian Communism capable of inspiring the masses.

The common peoples of the world have very simple demands.

The common people want a new civilisation where youth can enjoy the springtime of life, where the universities of the world are open to the children of the common people, where the institutions of culture, no longer the private monopoly of the rich, can be used as a link between nations. They want a civilisation where men and women can enjoy a happy, adventurous, carefree life.

This is the world the revolutionary ideas of Moral Re-Armament are striving to achieve.

XV

WORLD LABOUR AND CAUX

The following Foreword to World Labour and Caux, a report containing the speeches and statements of Trade Union and Socialist leaders, was written by Evert Kupers, President, Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions, 1928-40 and 1945-48; Socialist Member of Parliament, 1929-48; Vice-President, World Federation of Trade Unions, 1945-49; Member, Preparatory Committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1949; Chairman, Trade Union Advisory Committee for the European Recovery Programme.

THIS IS NO ORDINARY BOOK. It contains statements made by a great number of prominent as well as less known leaders of the Trade Union and Socialist movements from practically

THE WORLD REBUILT

every part of the world. They underline the importance of the ideology of Moral Re-Armament in our society.

These men have a great record in the fight to raise the material and spiritual standards of life of the working class. Most of them have felt personally the hardships of a worker's existence, low wages, long working days, bad housing conditions, lack of social legislation and social security. Against such injustices they have revolted with all their heart and soul. With complete dedication they have thrown themselves into the battle to put an end to these wrongs. . . .

Coupled with the material advancement of the workers there has been spiritual progress. In a number of countries the Labour Movement has acquired a social and political position which practically no one would have dreamed of half a century ago.

But even so, something is missing, the lack of which is being felt by many. That something is a sense of spiritual stability in this torn world in which there are such alarming divisions between the nations.

Moral Re-Armament says to all people: if you want to make the world better, start with yourself.

The thousands of people who have visited the assemblies at Caux during recent years have been deeply impressed by their message for our age and by the real comradeship and unity which they have found there. And many have expressed these feelings in this book, the reading of which I can most strongly recommend.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to the great leadership and love of humanity of Dr. Frank Buchman, the pioneer of Moral Re-Armament, who has devoted himself to the task of establishing a sound basis for the progress of mankind. His work has been the inspiration of the Caux assemblies.

Amsterdam, February, 1950.

EVERT KUPERS.

XVI

WORLD INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, JUNE, 1950

The 1950 World Assembly at Caux opened with a special conference sponsored by a distinguished group of industrialists and trade unionists. They stated in their invitation:

POLITICAL, industrial and labour leaders to-day are facing problems that baffle human wisdom. The technical problems of an industrial age are now complicated by the cross currents of an ideological age.

No one group, no one class, no one nation or race is adequate to solve our problems and to change the course of the world away from unemployment, poverty and war towards an age of security and prosperity.

This will take the combined efforts of all, plus a wisdom greater than that of the most brilliant individuals.

The Conference of Moral Re-Armament at Caux has become the magnet that has drawn together leaders from eighty-two nations to learn the secret and hear the evidence of a positive ideology at work uniting and remaking the world. Men with years of experience in statesmanship and industry, of every political colour, from management and labour, of every faith and no faith, have been finding in Caux the missing key to the problems of the ideological age in which we live.

We, therefore, invite you to join us at Caux to see at first-hand this evidence from Ruhr industries, British coalfields and docks, from Italian, French, and Swiss industrial plants, from Belgium, from Holland, Scandinavia, Australasia and the United States of America, evidence of an answer to the ideological problems besetting world industry.

The men and women responsible for these practical achievements will tell the successive steps that have led to change in their industrial and political situations.

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Spokesmen from Africa, India and Pakistan, the Near and Far East, who have seen national and ideological aspirations find a positive, constructive direction, will report fully on this aspect of the world programme of Moral Re-Armament.

In a critical hour for mankind Caux demonstrates an overarching ideology for East and West, for Left and Right, for Management and Labour.

ANGELO COSTA

President of the Confederation of Italian Industry.

HOWARD COONLEY

Director and Past President of the National Association of Manufacturers, United States.

GEORGES VILLIERS

President of the National Council of French Employers.

SIR JOHN CRAIG

Chairman of Colville's Ltd., Steel Manufacturers, Great Britain.

OTTO SPRINGORUM

Chairman of the Gelsenkirchen Coal Mining Company, Germany.

ICHIRO ISHIKAWA

President of the Federation of Economic Organisations of Japan.

HUSSEIN BEY FAHMY

Former Minister of Finance, Director of the Egyptian Federation of Industries.

N. H. TATA

Director, Tata Industries, India.

C. N. MCKAY

President of the Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia.

QUINTO QUINTIERI

Vice-President of the Confederation of Italian Industry.

ANDRÉ WALLAERT

President of the Employers' Federation of Northern France.

EVERT KUPERS

President, Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions, 1928-40, 1945-48; Chairman of the Trade Union Advisory Committee for the European Recovery Programme.

PAUL FINET

Secretary-General of the General Federation of Labour, Belgium; President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

ANDREW NAESMITH

Member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association.

TOM YATES

Member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress; General Secretary, National Union of Seamen; Member, Management Committee of the International Transport Workers Federation.

KHANDUBHAI DESAI

President of the Indian National Trades Union Congress.

DAVID J. McDONALD

Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of America; C.I.O. Member of the General Council, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

R. BROADBY

Secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

WORLD INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, JUNE, 1950

F. Q. DEN HOLLANDER

President of the Board of Management of the Netherlands Railways.

HISATO ICHIMADA

Governor of the Bank of Japan.

RYUTARO TAKAHASHI

President of the National Chamber of Commerce of Japan.

C. S. MACLEAN

President of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, 1945-46 and 1948-49.

HANS BILSTEIN

Chairman of the Employers' Association of the German Metal Industry.

ROBERT CARMICHAEL

President of the Jute Industry of France.

CHRISTIAN HARHOFF

President of the Danish Ship-owners' Association.

LUIZ D. VILLARES

President of the Elevadores Atlas S.A., Brazil.

HANS DÜTTING

General Director, Gelsenkirchen Group, Gelsenkirchen Coal Mining Company.

ERNST KUSS

Director-General of the Duisburg Copper Works, Germany.

ROBERT DURRER

Professor of Metallurgy, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology.

THEO GOLDSCHMIDT

President of the Chamber of Commerce of Essen, Germany.

ALBERT SCHÄFER

President of the Chamber of Commerce of Hamburg, Germany.

HASSAN NACHAT PASHA

Vice-President of the Egyptian Federation of Industries.

A. W. CROSKERY

President of the New Zealand Federation of Labour.

KOMAKICHI MATSUOKA

Chairman of the National Federation of Labour of Japan.

HARIHARNATH SHASTRI

General Secretary of the Indian National Trades Union Congress.

OH SIEN HONG

President of the Indonesian Federation of Labour.

GASTON TESSIER

President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers; President of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

KHOSROV HEDAYAT

Secretary of the Iranian Trade Unions; President, Asian Federation of Labour.

PAUL VISSER

President of the Mine Workers' Union of South Africa.

ERNST SCHARNOWSKY

President of the Organisation of Independent Trade Unions of Greater Berlin.

ETSUO KATO

Chairman of the National Railway Workers' Union, Japan.

PIERRE-AUGUSTE COOL

President of the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, Belgium.

EERO ANTIKAINEN

President of the Farm Workers' Union of Finland; Member of the Executive of the Finnish Trades Union Congress.

CHRISTIAN LARSEN

President of the National Union of General Workers, Denmark.

S. DE A. PEQUENO

President of the Federation of Tramway Workers of Brazil.

KEN BAXTER

Secretary of the New Zealand Federation of Labour.

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- MARTIN SCHWAB**
Managing Director of the Telefunken Electrical Company, Germany.
- FRITS PHILIPS**
Vice-President, Philips Radio, Holland.
- FRIEDRICH ALFRED SPRINGORUM**
Technical Director, Hüttenwerke Huckingen (Mannesmann Steel), Germany.
- BJARNE ERIKSEN**
Managing Director of the Norwegian Hydro-Electric Power Company.
- SIR ROY PINSENT, BART.**
Birmingham.
- W. N. PERRY**
Dominion President of the Federated Farmers of New Zealand.
- RUDOLF HUBER**
Manager, Oerlikon Machine Works, Switzerland.
- SIR J. A. C. ALLUM**
President of the Auckland Employers' Association; Mayor of Auckland, New Zealand.
- DR. GÖSTA EKELOF**
Founder of the National Training Institute for Industries, Sweden.
- KJELL LUND**
Managing Director of the Sulitelma Copper Mines, Norway.
- JEAN DUCROS**
President of the Confédération Générale des Cadres, France.
- MAURICE BOULADOUX**
Secretary-General of the French Confederation of Christian Workers.
- F. CRAIG**
National Secretary of the Timberworkers' Union, New Zealand.
- R. FREELAND**
National Secretary of the Harbour Board Employees' Union, New Zealand.
- AUGUST STEFFEN**
General Secretary of the Christian Socialist Trade Unions of Switzerland.
- F. P. WALSH**
Vice-President of the New Zealand Federation of Labour.
- L. WESTVIG**
National President of the Wood Workers' Union, Denmark.
- W. CALDER MACKAY**
General Manager of the Farmers' Trading Company Limited, New Zealand.
- FREDRIK SCHELE**
Managing Director of Osram, Sweden.
- HEIKKI H. HERLIN**
Member of the Executive of the Association of Engineering and Metal Industries, Finland.

XVII

HUMAN TOUCH IN INDUSTRY

The Times published the following report on the World Assembly on 6th July, 1950, from their Geneva correspondent:

MORE THAN 1,600 REPRESENTATIVES from forty-seven countries have so far attended the series of conferences on

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Moral Re-Armament which are taking place at Caux throughout the summer.

The emphasis of the gatherings has been on the industrial element in world affairs, and the attendance includes some Ministers of Labour, many leaders of industry and trade unions, representatives of manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce.

Strong delegations have come from India and Japan, one purpose of the conference being to provide a meeting place for East and West. The procedure has been designed to provide a forum for the pooling of experience. There have been no resolutions, and nearly all the meetings have been presided over by Dr. Buchman, the head of the movement.

The underlying ideas of Moral Re-Armament are still taking shape, and the wide interest taken in it may be due in part to the opinion expressed by one of the Japanese representatives: that in the alarming divisions among the nations those on whom falls the task of reconstruction feel that they cannot afford to stand aside from any work which aims at preserving peace and order. A Brazilian industrialist remarked, "To-day it is more important to be up-to-date ideologically than industrially."

A NEW IDEOLOGY

The Movement's aim is to approach the solution of the world's problems in a new spirit. Materialism, its authors say, is destroying the moral fabric of the nations. The class struggle is out of date and must be superseded by a new ideology. The alternative to class war is a moral and spiritual force springing primarily from the individual, above class, race and national advantage.

Since poverty, insecurity and unemployment lie behind most of the world's discontent, the endeavour is to spread this ideology throughout the industrial world and draw the leaders together to discuss their problems in an atmosphere of co-operation. The burden of many speeches from both sides of industry was that the human touch must be brought into

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relationships between employers and work people, and that these relationships must be built on moral standards.

The Japanese delegation to the conference was received in Berne to-day by M. Petitpierre, head of the Swiss Federal Political Department, who welcomed the Mayor of Hiroshima, which, he said, had had the terrible experience of the atom bomb. This has ushered in a new era with appalling possibilities unless the ideas of Moral Re-Armament received world-wide adoption.

XVIII

REMAKING THE WORLD: THE NEW PRIORITY FOR INDUSTRY

*Mr. Ernesto G. Diederichsen, Textile Manufacturer,
Brazil, made the following speech at Caux, in August, 1950:*

THE TIME HAS COME for management to understand its real function in our times. Its function is to lead industry in the reconstruction of the world, by the light of absolute moral standards. That means inspired leadership, inspired by absolute co-operation between changed management and workers.

Management has to change. We have to change to live out the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. This ideology has three characteristics. First, it is world-wide in scope. Secondly, it makes clear that "as I am, so is my nation, and so is my factory". Thirdly, it shows that there is a plan for each of us, a plan for management, a plan for labour.

The meaning of that plan for myself is, first to realise and live out the responsibility of management. This means we are responsible for the workers as human beings, to the fullest extent. That includes the recognition that men are more important than machines; that workers are human beings and

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not merely elements of production. My personal opinion is that because management has not recognised its responsibility to the fullest extent, it is responsible for the many hard feelings and the soreness in industrial life. I want, in my name and the name of management, to apologise for this great fault on our part.

So management has to change, and live out its real responsibility. This includes the responsibility for the workers when they are in the factories and when they are out of the factories. We are responsible for the workers' conditions, for their work and wages.

But that is not by any means enough as a programme of change for management. Management is also responsible for the ideology of the workers. To promote the living out of the ideology of Moral Re-Armament in industry is the best security management can give to labour. It means creating happy families, who live under the guidance of God, in the light of the absolute moral standards. How can a worker be really efficient when he is not happy at home?

Then there is another question, wages. To be happy at home it is necessary to have absolute moral standards. But you also have to have wages high enough to live on. This will come as a consequence of labour and management living by those absolute moral standards, and by the guidance of God.

Secondly, how can management find and live out the answer to greed? Labour has suffered many times from the greed of management. We have to change now, and live out the ideology of the four absolutes. Labour deserves a just share in the profits, but what amount should it be? That is the great thing. And it will be worked out by teamwork, as we have learnt at Caux, by labour and management working together in an atmosphere of honesty and understanding. This is the answer for greed. Frank Buchman said, "If everyone cared enough and everyone shared enough, wouldn't everyone have enough? There is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed." A new aim, a new top priority for industry, is now set: it is the remaking of the world.

XIX

REPORT TO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
MANUFACTURERS

In 1950, Mr. Howard Bird attended Caux as a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers of America. In his report to the Association he stated:

THERE SEEMS TO BE NO ARGUMENT now that the fight for material prosperity and high standards of living cannot compete with the battle for men's minds. These people of Moral Re-Armament have democracy's answer in an idea that conforms to our way of life. Their idea has the power to win over radical revolutionary minds. I refer to those with a tremendous inner urge to better humanity, who have embraced materialism and Communism as the only idea they see available for their crusade. Certainly the threat of atomic bombs can never do that, nor can mere anti-Communism.

I saw in Caux former professional revolutionaries, former advocates of hate and class war from many lands hold out their hand of friendship and find a new type of teamwork with conservative management when both became kindled with the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. I saw traditional enemies bury generations of hate to help establish peace between their nations and then in the world. Moral Re-Armament is a world force, the potentiality of which is absolutely astonishing and deserves the closest study and support.

A MAN IS JUDGED

XX

A MAN IS JUDGED

The following article on H. W. ("Bunny") Austin by Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Cochrane, K.B.E., R.N., wartime Commodore of Convoys, appeared in Everybody's Weekly, 4th May, 1946:

ONE OF THE GREATEST FIGURES in British sport has been condemned without fair trial by prejudiced publicists and a mis-informed public. His name is H. W. ("Bunny") Austin, the tennis player who helped Britain to win and hold the Davis Cup for four years.

It is time that the facts about this man's war service to democracy were told. I am in a position to give them.

Speaking as one who himself fought through the war and whose only son won the M.C. and was killed in the fighting against Hitler's Afrika Korps, I say that I am proud to have Bunny Austin as a friend, that the services he rendered to the cause of freedom were distinctive and effective and that in my own judgment and the judgment of men at the head of the American nation, many allied lives were saved by the activities of Austin and his colleagues.

Some people ask, "How did Bunny Austin, an Englishman, come to be in America during the war?" He was invited there in the spring of 1939 by some of the representative leaders of the American nation, and received by President Roosevelt at the White House. He addressed a vast audience at Madison Square Garden, New York, and another of 30,000 people packed into the Hollywood Bowl at California, while over 10,000 more had to be turned away.

At that time America was like a sleepy giant, unaware of the full danger which threatened democracy and intensely sensitive to any "British propaganda" which some Americans felt might involve them in another European war.

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Yet Austin's interpretation to the American people of the best ideals Britain stood for was so effective that he was gladly received in state after state. The *San Francisco News* wrote: "If this is British propaganda, let's have not less of it but more of it."

Bunny Austin returned to Britain just two weeks before war broke out. The winter of 1939 was the winter of the "phoney war." America became cynical about another "Imperialist" war. At the end of 1939 Austin was once more urgently invited to America by those who saw the danger in which all democracy stood.

The British Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Labour were consulted. All agreed that Austin should go.

Later, Austin with other British nationals consulted whether they should return home or continue their work in the United States. The British consular authorities, acting on instructions from the British Embassy, advised them to stay on in America.

Some people have made it their business to spread the tale that Austin is a pacifist. It is not true. He has recently come out of the fighting forces after two and a half years' service.

He is in his fortieth year, and served exactly as every other soldier of his status and age group did under United States Selective Service regulations. Of his years in the US Air Force, Colonel Robert Snider of USAAF, now of the US General Staff Corps, decorated by two countries for his work in defence of London against "V" weapons, says:

"The same qualities that endeared him to the spectators at Wimbledon won him the respect of his buddies in the Air Force. They found through him a new understanding of democracy and what we were fighting for."

When their call-up came, Austin and some of his friends filed occupational deferment applications on the grounds of a ruling issued some months earlier by the Presidential Board on manpower. This ruling said: "It appears conclusively from the record that the Moral Re-Armament movement," with which Austin and his friends were working, "has aroused the hearty acclaim of all elements of our people and is considered

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an essential element of our National Defence programme.”

An attempt was made by certain sections of the Press to smear Austin with the allegation that he was pressing for special treatment. So General Ames T. Brown, New York State Director of Selective Service and in charge of the department concerned, publicly commented: “The action I took was to give these people their proper rights. Any implication of improper influence is false.”

Bunny Austin was invited to America on account of his well-known association with the work of the Oxford Group. His book entitled *Moral Re-Armament*, published in January, 1939, went into two editions of a quarter of a million each.

It was translated into eleven languages. The Queen of the Netherlands addressed her people over the radio on the subject, and Lord Gowrie, Governor-General of Australia, called for Moral Re-Armament in that Dominion, thus laying the groundwork for Prime Minister John Curtin’s challenge to the nation to re-arm morally when the Japanese threatened invasion.

In America, Austin and the MRA workers went to work to draft a handbook of industrial and national team work, a simple straightforward ideology in everyman’s language. It was called *You Can Defend America*. A million copies of it were sold in the United States.

General John J. Pershing, the only living man to bear the title of General of the Armies of the United States and leader of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I, wrote the foreword. The United States War Department described this handbook, written by Austin and his friends, as “probably the finest statement of this country’s philosophy of national defence which has yet been written.”

At the request of Service chiefs, State governors and Civic authorities, Austin and his friends moved through twenty of the most highly industrialised states of America. William Green and Philip Murray, the heads of the two great American trade union systems, as well as the big employers of labour, supported them in their efforts to reinforce the sound elements of

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American Labour in their battle against the anti-democratic cells and groups who were striving to slow down production and manoeuvre themselves into positions of control.

Results soon showed. Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, one of the best informed and most distinguished men in America, reported the change in the union leadership of one of America's key aircraft plants. Control of this union had been won by anti-democratic forces who were deliberately sabotaging the output of the plant.

A man called Garry Cotton was named by Krock as having mobilised the many men of goodwill in the union who were disunited and without a plan. Together they succeeded in driving out the subversive forces and re-establishing the union in the control of sound Labour.

Later, Garry Cotton wrote and told Krock that it was Austin and his Moral Re-Armament friends who had supplied the programme that "armed our rank and file against the destructive efforts of un-American forces."

Immediately the production curve began to rise

About this time, Senator (later President) Truman, feeling restless about America's industrial aid to the cause of freedom, was making a 35,000 mile trip across the country, inspecting countless factories and army installations. Back in Washington he was appointed chairman of the committee to investigate the war effort.

The success of the Senate committee launched Truman towards the Presidency. In the course of his investigations he came across the work of Austin and his friends. This is what he said of that work: "I have given much time and thought to this matter, and have come to the clear conviction that these problems to which the Moral Re-Armament programme is finding an effective solution are the most urgent in our whole production picture. Where others have stood back and criticised, they have rolled up their sleeves and gone to work. There is not a single industrial bottleneck which could not be solved in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead."

THE BATTLE LINE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

Recently, J. R. Steelman, Special Industrial Adviser to the White House and with the experience as conciliator of 30,000 war-time industrial disputes, publicly described Austin and his friends as "the most effective single force for industrial conciliation at present operating in America."

As a fighting man and as the father of a fighting son, I say sincerely that I thank God for the work Austin and his friends have done through the war years. It has been selfless service and effective patriotism of the highest order.

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THE BATTLE LINE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

Senator Harry S. Truman made the following statement on the occasion of a special presentation of the Moral Re-Armament drama for ideological preparedness, The Forgotten Factor, in Philadelphia, 19th November, 1943:

IT HAS BEEN THE JOB of the Senate War Investigating Committee, of which I am Chairman, to look into the home front situation and make recommendations. We have listened to many hundreds of witnesses, taken five million words of testimony, obtained the considered view of responsible Americans ranging from the highest government and business officials to tank welders and airplane mechanics. I have personally travelled over 100,000 miles, visited hundreds of cities and war plants from Bangor to San Diego and from Seattle to Miami.

Seeing America from the inside in this way has given me both great pride and deep concern. Pride as an American at the magnitude of the effort put forth by both management and labour, and the flood of military and naval equipment for the mightiest armament the world has ever seen. Concern over the spirit of division which exists on the home front—class against class, farm against city, party against party, race against race.

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The forces of disunity in our national life appear to be stronger to-day than perhaps at any time in our history. And they are growing stronger.

Men in industry know of the battle for control which is going on in many of our major war plants. Most management and labour in the country want to co-operate to win the war and build a lasting peace. But there are extremists in both camps who don't make the job any too easy. They represent an alien philosophy of conflict and so play into the hands of foreign ideologies. . . .

There is only one answer to this sort of thing. We must start now to draw the true battle line in American industry, between the responsible and constructive forces in both management and labour against the small but active minority who believe in a finish fight. . . .

The time is ripe for an appeal not to self-interest but to the hunger for great living that lies deep in every man. What Americans really want is not a promise of getting something for nothing, but a chance to give everything for something great. We want something we can fight for with equal intensity in war or peace, something not confined to combat areas or election campaigns. . . .

I have known this group since 4th June, 1939, when I read a message from the President to the national meeting for Moral Re-Armament in Constitution Hall, Washington. I was struck at that time by the clarity with which they saw the dangers threatening America, and the zeal and intelligence with which they set about rousing the country. I wish *The Forgotten Factor* and the war revue *You Can Defend America* could be seen by workers and executives alike in every war plant in the country. There is not a single industrial bottleneck I can think of which could not be broken in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead.

We need this spirit in industry. We need it in the nation. For if America doesn't catch this spirit, we will be lucky to win the war, and certain to lose the peace. With it there is no limit to what we can do for America, and America for the world.

BURMA

XXII

BURMA

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

The Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, sent the following message to Dr. Buchman at the Caux Assembly in 1949:

IT GIVES ME MUCH PLEASURE to send you a message of greeting on the occasion of your conference. A reassessment of our moral values and their application to our problems is a vital necessity to-day. Discussions which contribute towards such a reassessment will have a beneficial effect on world problems.

The first objective of the people of the world should be to acquire the right conception of life. Although within easy reach of this, they still fail to grasp it because of their indifference. This failure is the main cause of the present world disorder.

The answer will be the same, no matter whether it is for westerner or easterner, exploiter or exploited, Christian or non-Christian. It lies in the right conception of life.

To those who have achieved this conception, materialistic objectives which can give only fleeting satisfaction, shorter in duration than the twinkling of the eye, will no longer constitute the main objective. The day when this main objective reassumes its proper place will be the day when real peace will appear in the world. So long as the people of the world do not achieve this realisation, neither atomic energy nor ideal resolutions nor endless sermons will bring real peace and unity to humanity.

XXIII

NATIONAL INVITATION FROM INDIA

In September, 1950, a national committee of eighteen Indian political and industrial leaders, described by one of its members as the most powerful ever to take united action, sent the following invitation to Dr. Frank Buchanan to bring an international force of Moral Re-Armament to India:

DEAR DR. BUCHMAN,

Most of us have the pleasure of knowing you and all of us have seen something of the work of Moral Re-Armament, especially in Europe and America.

We are convinced that the true hope for bringing lasting change in social and economic conditions and for bringing peace to the world lies in multiplying such practical results as we believe to have been achieved by Moral Re-Armament—the giving of a new incentive to industry, the change of heart of capitalist and communist alike, the replacing of mistrust, bitterness and hate between individuals and groups with understanding and co-operation.

We consider, therefore, that such moral re-armament of the nations is the need of the hour and the hope of the future.

We agree with you that no one group, no one class, no one nation or race is adequate to solve the problems we are facing to-day or to change the course of the world away from unemployment, poverty and war towards an age of security and prosperity and that this will take the combined efforts of all, plus wisdom greater than that of the most brilliant individuals.

The Father of our country, Mahatma Gandhi, has bequeathed us an unquenchable inspiration to live by the highest ideals, and we are eager for India to play her full part in this noble task.

We would like you to know how glad we would all be to see

NATIONAL INVITATION FROM INDIA

you in India this winter along with an international team so that we may profit by your experience. Together we must succeed in turning the world from crisis to cure in demonstrating an overarching ideology for Management and Labour, for Left and Right, for East and West.

DR. S. N. AGARWAL

Secretary, Foreign Department Sarvodaya Samaj, Wardha.

SIR SULTAN AHMED

Former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

SIR GURUNATH BEWOOR

Managing Director, Air India Ltd.

THE HON. SHRI CHANDRABHAI.

Chairman, Legislative Council, United Provinces.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI DESAI

President of the Indian National Trades Union Congress.

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

Member, National Planning Commission; Chairman, Fiscal Commission, 1950.

SHRI G. L. MEHTA

Member, National Planning Commission.

SIR LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR

Vice-Chancellor, Madras University.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA

Deputy Chairman, National Planning Commission.

SHRI R. K. PATIL

Member, National Planning Commission.

THE HON. K. M. PATNAIK

Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Orissa.

SHRI RAMNATH PODAR

Industrialist.

SHRI KRISHNA PRASADA

Director General, Posts and Telegraphs.

SIR SRI RAM

Former Chairman of the Indian Chamber of Commerce.

THE HON. DR. B. C. ROY

Chief Minister, West Bengal.

THE HON. DR. SAMPURANAND

Minister of Education, United Provinces.

THE HON. A. N. SINHA

Minister of Labour, Bihar.

SHRI J. R. D. TATA

Chairman, Tata Industries.

XXIV

PAKISTAN

The Prime Minister of East Pakistan, the Hon. Nurul Amin, was the guest of honour at a luncheon held in the London headquarters of MRA, once the home of Clive of India, on 31st August, 1950. He said:

PLEASE CONVEY my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Buchman. But for his friends my visits to the European countries would have been a failure.

Dr. Buchman is a great philosopher, and a prophet in that he has foreseen the need of this age. He will live in an abiding place in the history of the world because of Moral Re-Armament.

I know that this is an historic house. It belonged to Clive of India, who conquered Bengal. That was by force of arms. A greater man, Dr. Buchman, whose house this now is, will make greater history not by arms but by a spiritual and moral ideology. I am honoured to be welcomed here.

In a message to the Caux Assembly on the Independence Day of Pakistan, 14th August, 1950, the Hon. Nurul Amin wrote:

On this auspicious occasion on the completion of three years of our independence, I, on behalf of my country and myself, wish to send a message of good will and friendship to the nations of the world through MRA, which has succeeded to a great extent in bringing together almost all the nations on a common platform founded on the ethics of mutual understanding. Pakistan, pledged as it is to do social justice to all classes of people in the country and to work for a similar ideal in other countries, finds a band of selfless workers having full faith in the new ideology of Dr. Buchman to create a new world order by ending class wars.

We are believers in the Creator who alone is capable of giving true happiness to individuals, society and mankind.

PAKISTAN

The farther we go from Him the more are the miseries we create for ourselves. As long as we realise our mistakes and understand others' point of view and reclaim humanity from the path of selfishness to that of mutual understanding, the present world, disrupted on ideological slogans which ultimately separate brother from brother and sister from sister, will be a better place to live in. This is the path of establishing abiding peace in the world, and Pakistan as a peace-loving country will undoubtedly join hands with MRA in fighting for the noble cause.

NURUL AMIN,
Prime Minister

XXV

JAPAN

I. PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

The following message from the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, was conveyed to the 1950 World Assembly at Caux by Mr. Chojiro Kuriyama, a Member of Parliament of the Prime Minister's Party:

I AM GRATEFUL that seventy-six Japanese delegates who represent various fields have been invited to the MRA World Assembly this year. I would like to express my heart-felt gratitude to Dr. Buchman and his MRA colleagues who are exerting their utmost among the nations in order to remake this suffering world. Japan is expecting a great deal from Moral Re-Armament.

MRA can inspire and give moral content to Japanese democracy by restoring morality which has been at a low ebb since the war.

MRA can inject the nation with a stabilising force in regard to its ideas and activities by curing rampant materialism.

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MRA can build the foundation for a cultured and peaceful nation for the Japanese people who renounced war through the new constitution.

I am confident that these Japanese delegates will bring back the good seed of MRA, and that through the co-operation of MRA friends all over the world the seed will bring forth a great harvest in Japan. Through the Japanese delegation I would like to pay my greatest respects to Dr. Buchman. I have perfect confidence that the Assembly will call forth mighty echoes from the four corners of the world.

2. PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

The following speech, made in the Senate by Senator Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, is taken from the Congressional Record, Washington, 24th July, 1950:

MR. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, these guests of ours are the democratic leaders of millions of Japanese, whose reaction to current developments in Korea, whose understanding of our aims and objectives in the world, and especially in the Far East, and whose continued loyalty to the fundamental freedoms for which our men are fighting alongside other United Nations forces, constitute a vital security factor in our whole position on the other side of the Pacific. . . .

This delegation left Japan six weeks ago with the support and approval of General MacArthur and SCAP to attend a special industrial conference at the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly in Caux, Switzerland. They took part with 1,600 delegates from forty-seven nations.

The Japanese raised the money to pay for their trip through the organisations they represent, supplemented by voluntary contributions from this country.

Since leaving Caux three weeks ago this group has been seen and honoured by government leaders in the principal capitals of western Europe, and thus began to take their part again in the democratic family of nations. They have been

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welcomed by the President of Switzerland, by Chancellor Adenauer, and High Commissioner McCloy in Germany, and at official receptions by members of the German Cabinet and by the Upper and Lower Houses of the Bonn Parliament. Some of the party flew into Berlin at the invitation of the mayor, and were also received by the mayors of Hamburg, Bremen, Essen and Cologne. Catholic members of the delegation had a special audience with the Pope in Rome.

In Paris they were officially greeted by the Foreign Office at the Quai d'Orsay and by members of the French Cabinet. After flying across the Channel, they were met by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House, received in both Houses of Parliament, and welcomed at Oxford by the head of the university.

Yesterday, Sunday, they arrived in New York by special plane, and I have been glad to learn that Mayor O'Dwyer, Ambassador Austin at the United Nations, and other officials are arranging to give them a full-hearted welcome to this country.

Mr. President, the visit of this group of distinguished Japanese leaders to the United States at this critical time is so significant that I feel we should especially honour them here on the floor of the Senate. It is my purpose, therefore, at the opening of the session on Friday, 28th July, to ask unanimous consent that members of the group who belong to the Japanese Diet be invited to the floor while a word of welcome is given to them by Members of the Senate.

In the House of Representatives on Monday, 31st July, 1950, the Speaker, Mr. Rayburn, received and welcomed the members of the Japanese delegation on the floor of the House. He then called upon the former Speaker, Mr. Martin of Massachusetts, Minority Leader, to join with him in welcoming the delegation. The Congressional Record then reads:

THE SPEAKER. The Chair takes great pleasure in presenting to the Members of the House of Representatives a leader

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of the Democratic Party in the Japanese Diet, Member for Nagasaki, and former Minister of Finance, Delegate Tokutaro Kitamura, representing the members of the Diet of Japan.

DELEGATE KITAMURA. On behalf of the Japanese delegates who have been permitted to come into this great place, I should like to be allowed to express several things in my reply.

I wish to express our very deepest gratitude for this great honour which has been extended to us, to be permitted to come here, and especially to be permitted to come to this great place of honour here on the stand to express our message of gratitude. This is something which words cannot express.

As a representative of the Japanese people, I should like to express our deepest regret for the tragic trouble that we have caused to the people of the United States, the peoples of the European nations, the people of China, and also the people of the Australian nation, representatives of whom I believe are in the gallery to-day.¹ (*Applause.*)

The third point to which I should like to refer is the very deep gratitude the Japanese people have for the material assistance in the form of food and other aid which has been given to Japan for her rehabilitation after the war. This is a gesture which indicates the great forgiveness which the United States has, and gives to your aid a moral and spiritual significance by which we, the Japanese people, are deeply moved and for which we are deeply grateful. (*Applause.*)

Unfortunately, a very serious situation has arisen in the Far East in this most historic moment. . . . We realise that the precious blood of the sons of America is now being shed to protect the freedom of the world and the Far East, and if we might be permitted, as Japanese, to bow our heads in deepest and humble gratitude and appreciation for this great sacrifice

¹The official Parliamentary delegation from Victoria was present on this occasion, on their way to Caux.

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that the United States is making, it will be indeed an honour and a privilege for us.

Although Japan is not yet a free member of the family of nations, still we, the Japanese people, would like to do everything in our own present power to support the action now being taken to protect the Far East. Following the devastation of the war, Japan is now trying to rehabilitate herself and is doing everything that she possibly can to bring order out of great confusion, a confusion which is typified by the loss of four million homes. . . .

We had thought that the first step that we must take was an economic and material rehabilitation in our nation, but we have discovered that the far greater and far more basic rehabilitation is the establishment of a true moral order in the Far East and in our nation. Only on the basis of this moral order can a true economic order be established. (*Applause.*)

It was with this in mind that many of the leaders representing all phases of life in Japan went to the assembly at Caux, Switzerland, and discovered there that the four basic standards set forth by the programme for moral re-armament can be the real basis on which a true rehabilitation and reconstruction can be carried out in our nation. (*Applause.*)

Especially in view of the great forces of Communism that are now penetrating the Far East, we, the Japanese people, feel extremely responsible for finding a true answer to that great ideology, an answer that will be a better ideology, an answer that will give a true constructive basis on which inspired democracy can be established in the Far East. This is the great question and the great subject to which we, the Japanese people, must find the answer and carry it out. (*Applause.*)

3. EDITORIAL IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES"

On Saturday, 29th July, 1950, the following editorial appeared in the New York Times entitled "Visitors from Japan":

It is sadly true, among nations as among individuals, that the friends of yesterday are not always the friends of to-day. In compensation, the enemies of yesterday may not be enemies to-day. Vice-President Barkley, receiving a delegation of sixty Japanese officials, businessmen, and labour leaders, could recall a long period of peace and amity that preceded the recent war and could hope for another such period. Chojiro Kuriyama, member of the Japanese Diet, could have an attentive hearing as he told the Senate of his regret for Japan's big mistake and his recognition of American forgiveness and generosity. All this in Washington, D.C., on 28th July, 1950, a little less than five years after the atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

One thinks back to 1945 and one thinks ahead to some date not yet unveiled. To befriend the Japanese now, to hope the best for them, is not to condone the crimes their leaders committed in their name and with their aid. It is merely to make clear that peace and goodwill can return, even after the most terrible events; that though we must continue to hate the evil-doers—who could without shame forgive the butchers of the Nazi internment camps?—we know that no nation is beyond redemption. The word "Russian" has a sinister sound for us to-day. In God's good time, when to-day's shadow has passed from the world, it may have a pleasing and genial sound.

The mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were among yesterday's visitors. If they felt that they, too, had something to forgive they had achieved that miracle. For a moment one could see out of the present darkness into the years when all men may be brothers.

4. STATEMENT ON LEAVING LONDON

Before their departure on 22nd July, 1950, the leaders of the Japanese delegation to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, Mr. Chojiro Kuriyama, representing the Prime Minister's Party, and Mr. Tokutaro Kitamura, formerly Finance Minister, representing the Democratic Party, issued the following statement on behalf of the delegation:

We came to Europe, where Communism began, to find a positive answer to Communism. We found it at Caux, in the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. This way of life is in our opinion the essential basis for a solution to the problems facing us in Asia, and our gratitude goes out to Dr. Frank Buchman and his fellow-workers who are its pioneers.

We are also grateful to the people of Europe for the warmth of their welcome. We realise that in the past Japan has caused great suffering to them through her pursuit of false ideas and false roads. We hope in future as a nation to show by our deeds that we have found a change of heart and that we can make our contribution to the remaking of the world.

In our discussions with Cabinet Ministers in France, Italy, Germany and Britain, we found an encouraging awareness of the forces at work in the Far East. We welcome this understanding.

In our view far more attention needs to be paid to the ideological side of the democratic concept if this concept is to win Asia. The millions in the Far East must be presented with a philosophy and way of life so appealing that totalitarianism will lose its lure.

Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for the minds of men. We appeal to the Governments and peoples of the West to do the same, to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen.

XXVI

SOUTH AFRICA

I. SPEAKER NAUDÉ'S ADDRESS

A Parliamentary delegation from South Africa representing the three major political parties attended the World Assembly at Caux in September, 1950. The Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Hon. J. F. T. Naudé, addressing the conference said:

HERE AT CAUX I have seen something which changes individuals, nations and ideologies. I think of Lake Success. Either we must find the way to bring Lake Success to Caux, or Caux to Lake Success. Otherwise we are not going to have any success.

I have had the opportunity to visit Finland, Norway, Sweden, Germany and Switzerland. The one place where there is happiness, which gives hope for the future, is Caux. After a few years we shall naturally think of the various countries we have visited, but the greatest of those memories will be Caux.

I have been privileged to meet very many people from time to time. I had the great honour of meeting the President of the United States. I have been privileged to meet two Kings of England. I wish to say that the greatest privilege of my life was when yesterday I met Dr. Frank Buchman, a man who has done so much for humanity and given happiness to millions of people. I hope he will be spared a long time to continue in this great work.

MRA has done a lot in our little country. Sixty per cent of the world's gold is produced there. The result of *The Forgotten Factor* was that when a strike was imminent, *The Forgotten*

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Factor intervened and the strike was averted. The Chamber of Commerce, the capitalists in our country, and the miners together settled the strike. We are looking forward to this marvellous play *The Good Road* coming to South Africa, and I shall not be happy until it does come.

2. THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

The following article appeared in Indian Opinion, 30th June, 1950. Published in South Africa, this newspaper was founded by Mahatma Gandhi and is now edited by his son, Manilal Gandhi. The article was published simultaneously with the showings of The Forgotten Factor, then being presented to the Indian Community in Durban.

Moral Re-Armament is the aim of *The Forgotten Factor* and its producers. The spirit of these people whom we have seen in this play shows us the spirit of many such people all over the world, who are on the move to advance Moral Re-Armament, which is the only way to save this war-torn world from destruction. *The Forgotten Factor* shows us how, if we start changing our own attitude and recognising our own faults, we can change the whole world.

The play shows us the missing factor in our lives, in the planning and the statesmanship of the world to-day. The missing factor is our lack of an ideology for democracy. As Dr. Buchman says in *Remaking the World*, "We have lived too long in an atmosphere of imagining that security, prosperity, comfort and culture are natural to man. We forgot the eternal struggle between evil and good, victory in which brings the blessings of security and prosperity. But defeat in this struggle and even ignorance of it brings poverty, hunger, slavery and death. . . . Moral Re-Armament has the tremendous uniting power that comes from change. The problem is not just an iron curtain which separates nation from nation, but steely selfishness which separates man from man and all men from

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the government of God. And when men listen to God and obey, the steel and iron melt away."

These people are calling to all the people of the world to break down barriers and to live in the brotherhood of man. They are trying to bring home to us the fact that, "If men will not be governed by God, then they will be ruled by tyrants." We have a lot to learn, and this work is something that should be kept alive, for it is a lighthouse in this dark and stormy world of ours and it will guide us to the right way.

Our tribute to the people who gave us this play is that their play has given us new hope and strength in our dark days. We feel as if the darkness that surrounded our heart has been lifted.

XXVII

CAUX

I. REPORT TO UNITED STATES CONGRESS

At the beginning of June, 1949, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Mr. Rayburn, with the unanimous consent of the House, designated a bipartisan committee to attend the World Assembly at Caux. The Committee, under the chairmanship of the Hon. Prince H. Preston, Jr., of Georgia, included the Hon. Donald L. O'Toole, of New York; the Hon. Daniel J. Flood, of Pennsylvania; the Hon. George A. Dondero, of Michigan; the Hon. Earl Wilson of Indiana. They arrived at Caux by special military plane on 4th June. In the course of his report to the House of Representatives the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Preston, said (Congressional Record, 21st June, 1949):

WHY HAS THIS MOVEMENT attracted the attention of at least a hundred members of both bodies of Congress? Why did the House send a committee to observe this recent conference?

The American press has asked these questions also. I think the answer lies in the fact that this movement has launched a very vigorous campaign to answer Communism in Europe.

That this movement is succeeding in its localised efforts is not disputed. Your committee heard testimonials from labour union presidents, national presidents and factory owners in which it was admitted that strife and bitter dissension had been replaced by harmony and friendship as a result of the influence of Moral Re-Armament.

Coal mine operators from the Ruhr Valley and union bosses out of their mines gave testimony to the effectiveness of the plays *The Good Road* and *The Forgotten Factor* and acknowledged they had changed their attitude toward the other as a result of the impact of these dramas.

The success of the movement in industrial disputes led Dr. John R. Steelman, former director of the United States Conciliation Service from 1937 to 1944, to say: "It is the most effective single force for industrial conciliation in the country."

Many world figures have praised the efforts of this altruistic group and it is interesting to note the comments of the Department of Justice in a memorandum dated 1st April, 1949, and I quote from it the following: "Moral Re-Armament is a world force having as its principal objective adequate ideological preparedness of free nations for the ideological conflicts in which the world is now engaged, and its objectives are recognised by the Department as worthy and helpful in the strengthening of democratic forces throughout the world."

No force this side of heaven can be felt like the force of inspired humanity marching in unison, moving in harmony with the Cross of Christ as its breastplate and a burning love for freedom urging it on toward a goal, a goal which all of us surely agree must be reached if nations and peoples are to embrace each other and banish war as a means of settling disputes.

Peace is more sought after to-day than ever before. A more literate world populace is feverishly seeking the answer to the age-old question of how can nations merge themselves into a

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world family and become as brothers without betrayal. Idealistic as it may seem, it is none the less true that honour and integrity must precede all unifying efforts and these can be attained only when morality and religious influence are permitted to assume their proper roles in the formation of policies and are made a part of the formulas to be applied in the effort.

If this movement is to implement the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, as Mr. Robert Schuman, Foreign Minister for France, says it will, by establishing an ideology of democracy resting on the premise that the individual is a person of dignity in God's sight, then it is a welcome force, which can be used constructively and well.

2. EDITORIAL IN CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER "OSTSCHWEIZ"

The following article appeared in the Swiss Catholic newspaper Ostschweiz, published in St. Gallen, 10th March, 1950, entitled Catholics and Moral Re-Armament:

In connection with the Instruction "Ecclesia Catholica" of the Holy Office which expressly permits Catholics to participate in mixed confessional meetings for the defence of the fundamental principles of human rights and of religion against the enemies of the Church, or for the rebuilding of the social order, attention should be drawn to a report which the well-known preacher, Father Hugo Lang, O.S.B., gave on the 29th of January in Munich entitled "The Nature and Way of Moral Re-Armament."

Father Lang said in part as follows: "Caux is the headquarters and training centre of Moral Re-Armament which has been created by Frank Buchman. It has no intention of being a sect or a religion. It is simply a supernational religious movement which seeks to lead each individual back to the sources of his own religion. This movement of re-awakening sprang from the strong Christian social impulse of its founder.

Believe in the goodness of man, live as an example before him, give him the opportunity also to be good—that is the whole magic of Caux. Only when the individual changes, and that is why in Caux just as in the Exercises it is the individual who is dealt with, only so is there hope for renewal of the family, of economic life, of the nation and of mankind. There are four ideals which are lived out before the individual's eyes in Caux to inspire and direct him—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love—not from time to time and conditionally, but eternally and absolutely.

“In my report which I have worked out at the request of a high Church authority, I have purposely emphasised that in Caux those men are at work whom the Pope in his speeches is constantly addressing and calling to work together in the remaking of the world, the men of good will.”

The opinion of the Bishop of Lausanne, Fribourg and Geneva, Monsignor Charrière, is to be noted. According to Father Lang he expressed himself positively about Caux in the following words: “It is not a question whether priests can go to Caux. Priests must go there because Caux calls for the Church and for the priest.”

A very valuable article about Moral Re-Armament from the Catholic side comes from the pen of the Director of the “Volkshochschule” in Duisburg, Dr. Bernhard Kaes, Christian Democrat member of Parliament.

Dr. Kaes writes: “The forces which are working together in this movement are aiming to create a real consciousness of what is basic and real. In a secularised world they are aiming to bring to light the buried Christian values. It is not a question of a substitute for religion. It is the determination to act like Christians in the concrete everyday life, to live in the spirit and according to the commands of the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel. Moral Re-Armament starts from personal perfection as did St. Ignatius when he said: ‘If you want to make the world better, begin with yourself.’

“Every genuine, living Christian must be aware that we are living in a pagan world and that Europe has become a mission

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field. This means that a real movement of the laity is necessary far beyond the boundaries of churches and confessions in order to win ground again for Christianity, and one which fights in a world of widespread militant materialism to re-establish a way of life based on moral and Christian values."

Kaes meets all criticisms of the daily practice of the quiet time (meditation) with the words of the famed French Oratorian priest, Father Gratry, who over a hundred years ago said: "The world will change when each of you changes. We can change by listening to God, for God never ceases to speak to us just as the sun never ceases to shine. Every morning before the distractions and activity of our busy lives begin, we ought to listen to God in a quiet time."

Kaes goes at some length into the concept of ideology, its content, use, and the justification for it in the MRA vocabulary. In contrast to the destructive philosophical ideologies of our time, in contrast to the false religious doctrines and panaceas, Moral Re-Armament is proclaimed as a uniting and superior ideology, or as the battle for a God-inspired ideology. It is easily recognised that the term "ideology" is used in a transcendental sense in contrast to its secularised content and use. What is meant by it is the united mobilisation of all effective Christian forces against the seductions of the modern world. . . .

Bernhard Kaes concludes his article with a quotation from Dr. Johannes Aufhauser, Professor at the University of Munich. "In the atmosphere of Moral Re-Armament which is up-to-date in its spirit and broad in its religious feeling, we Catholics can feel ourselves fully at home." He closes his big-hearted statement in these words: "May what I have said find general assent among Catholics, and may we, while recognising all the necessary cautions that are enjoined on us, be prepared to support and work with these people and be willing at the same time ourselves to take the risk of living out our Christianity."

CAUX

3. SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SECRET OF CAUX

*An address by Count Carlo Lovera di Castiglione, noted
Catholic writer and historian, September, 1950:*

For many years I have been coming to Caux in search of a break in the fevered life of every day; and every year I go back from Caux with a still clearer impression of the strength and help one receives to live one's daily life better.

Where is it that the fruitful secret of Caux really lies? Is it in the four absolutes? In the life one lives? In the example one is given? In the peace and meditation one enjoys? In the people one meets? I have come to the conclusion that the true secret of Caux is in none of these aspects of its life. Its secret lies in the force and example of the evidence and of the way in which it is presented.

All races, all professions, all cultures, all tongues, come one after another on the platform of this hall; and from all these testimonies one gathers an individual and collective experience of life which is arresting in the formidable strength of its example.

Life is present in its most complex reality when we hear workers speaking freely of their situations, of their difficulties, of the misunderstandings to which they are subjected, of their economic misery, of their bitterness. They are no longer just trade union members, but men who at last open their hearts before their own employers. There are employers who speak to us of their experiences in the field of labour, of the force and benefit, not merely moral, which lies in a reconciliation between workers and employers, and in synchronising their interests, employers who pass from the economic to the moral plane. There are young nations, emerging from the struggle for their hard-won liberty, who overcome ancient bitteresses. There are races who still wait for justice, and whose voices freely reach other men who belong to the nations which dominate them.

There are men of religion who tell us of their new-found

strength to live better age-old truths which till now seemed out of date or ineffective, just because they were not lived. There are infinite human experiences, sketched in simple, basic lines, in which we often find the elements of our own difficulties, with a practical invitation to overcome them.

Then, too, alongside the secret of the strength of Caux, is the secret of its charm. Caux is a window open on the world. It is a crossing of roads which come from every continent. The workers in particular, who are too often imprisoned in the monotony of their jobs, of their economy, of their trade union, they especially appreciate this open window on the world, and the vast horizons which make them feel more clearly that longing for greater justice which is felt so deeply by people everywhere in this terrible modern world. They learn that this justice cannot be reduced, as historical materialism teaches, to a mere redistribution, to a surgical operation of cutting and adding, but that it must serve to lift the human spirit, which is so often oppressed by economic instability, even though this lifting of the spirit seems almost impossible for men who live under the burden of daily poverty, lack of a home, over-population, and all the difficulties which lead to misery, promiscuity, tuberculosis and degradation in human life.

This insistence on the dignity of the human person is one of the "leit-motifs" of Caux. It rightly strikes whoever goes up to Caux, not merely by the fact of its existence, but because here we see expressed the simplest formula, which can resolve problems which ideologies and the class war have terribly and vainly complicated.

This simple formula is always the same: unselfishness, honesty, purity, love. It is adequate for the minor problems of every day, and for the great social and political problems which trouble the world.

But in Caux we feel yet another thing: the absence of many other friends who were once with us, heart to heart: Germans from the Eastern Zone, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Jugoslavs, proud peoples who were once free and happy, but who to-day are oppressed even in the most intimate places of their con-

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science and of their dignity as men. Some representatives of these peoples, fugitives from catastrophe, are here with us, as a painful reminder of the failure of a Europe which has betrayed her ancient mission of civilisation. Europe to-day is threatened by that same ideological materialism which she so light-heartedly and lovingly tended, mistaking it for progress, for a reaction against obscurantism, for peace, for all those things which we as children were so foolishly taught would be eternal gifts. To these people go our thoughts of sympathy to-day, together with our wishes and our prayers to God for them.

But their absence is a concrete warning which comes from Caux: Remake the world! That is, collect the fragments from the ruins to remake a new home, habitable and welcoming. It is of great comfort that, almost everywhere, the conviction is gaining ground that if to build a house needs bricks, tiles and mortar, it is even more necessary to have the architect who puts them together for construction. Who will be our architect? The four absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are this work of architecture. But in order that the architect may build, it is necessary that he knows and applies his rules. In the same way, in order that the four standards become operative in remaking the world, they must be lived, even in face of the vain chatterings of the world.

Thus you see how the whole teaching of Caux, how the directives which come in quiet times, the experience and the illuminating power of God which have been given to Frank Buchman, complete one another and fit together with the demand of the individual conscience, from which depends the family conscience, which, in its turn, goes to make up the national conscience: and the world is made up of nations. In Caux there is truly a mission, a challenge to all men to supersede the divisions of class, ideology and race. "Supersede" is one of the themes of Caux. There is no change without it. Now we, to-day, have another great conquering force before our eyes. We would be denying light if we were to deny that Communism has positive values and that it is a great totalitarian, conquering force.

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But Communism knows what it wants; its followers are capable of great sacrifices, have a great faith, and want to remake the world, enclosing it in an authoritarian, total unity of thought, of discipline, of culture, and of economy.

It is certain that in the Communist dream there is a possibility of renewal and of supremacy. For this very reason their young people, generous as well as intellectual, are launched out as argonauts in search of a new world and of adventure never yet attempted.

But let us be careful that we do not let ourselves be distracted by the height of the building, of which we cannot see the roof. We do not see it because it is missing. Economics and enforced total equality do not resolve the problem. And it is a Marxist Russia herself which proves it.

She too, has needed and still needs, a spiritual appeal. To win the war and overcome internal difficulties of every kind, on what did Russia set her values? On spiritual principles formerly denied: honour, patriotism, glory, sacrifice, the spirit of competition and even, to some extent, proscribed religion.

This is just what is said in Caux: the economic solution does not suffice to remake the world; individuals and nations are only capable of true greatness when they return to moral principles in life, in the family, in their jobs and businesses, in diplomacy and in politics. Here is true victory over Marxism, which is the inheritance of economic man, but is not the inheritance of the whole man who is made up of spirit and body. This victory does not stand by itself. It is in this relative sphere that MRA is the one solution, inasmuch as it is a modern application, intelligent and active, of the only true solution: a return to Gospel morality. The whole inner strength of Moral Re-Armament is that the spirit of MRA reflects the Spirit of Christ. In this lies the great secret of Caux.

MRA, like all things which tend to put man back into the plan of God, has two sorts of enemies: those who oppose it because they fear it, materialists and the morally defeated. These are its declared enemies; we know them, we do not fear them because we know where and how to fight them.

There are other enemies: those who do not understand MRA but presume to judge it. These do much harm, and we must, by showing the application of the principles of MRA in our daily life, fight them, by speaking of MRA in our families, with our friends, with our work mates and office colleagues. We must make them see how it is in reality, without losing ourselves in a labyrinth of details or in discussing superficial aspects of minor importance. That is the favourable ground where our adversaries lie in wait for us. We must propagate and defend the essence of the thinking, of the spirit, of the teaching and of the effectiveness of MRA in the individual and in the world.

Other enemies of ours are the pessimists. Those who say to us and to others: "What presumption, to remake the world! You?" Well, are we then the only ones who seriously want to remake the world? The Communists, too, seriously want to remake the world! How do they set about it? How do they begin? They begin by means of cells, then various teams. And why should we not do what they can do? Are we not true cells, each one in our own circle, if we truly believe that we have a responsibility for what happens in the world, good and evil? Should we not think seriously of this? Do you not see that there is already a mysterious hand which writes on the wall of Europe "Mene, Tekel, Peres"—"I have weighed you, I have judged you, I have condemned you"? And what sort of Christians will we be if we let the hour pass by? And what sort of intelligence have we if we close our eyes to such obvious reality? And what sort of cowards' hearts have we if we do not know how to love enough in order to act?

These are the questions which concluded my meditation on my stay in Caux. It is for all of us to answer them with faith.

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4. "STUDENT PRESIDENT WILL NOT TRAVEL TO PRAGUE CONGRESS"

Youth from over eighty universities have attended the Caux Assemblies. The following article appeared on the editorial page of Arbeiderbladet, the official newspaper of the Norwegian Socialist Government, 14th August, 1950:

The President of the Norwegian Students, Jan Hallingskog, after fourteen days stay in Caux, the European centre for Moral Re-Armament, has decided not to travel to the international student congress in Prague, arranged by the IUS.

Jan Hallingskog is now on his way to Stockholm from Caux, but before he left I asked him to try to give an explanation:

"Why have you changed your mind so quickly?"

"I was one of those who fought for us to try to retain every last chance of keeping touch with youth east of the Iron Curtain. I regarded the congress in Prague as our only chance of meeting these students and influencing them. I felt that it was not right to break off all contact with the IUS, for that would be to admit that we were unable to carry out what the UN is working for, namely the creation of teamwork and building bridges between East and West."

"Then did you become anti-Communist in Caux?"

"No, certainly not. On the contrary, here I have become more convinced than ever that anti-communism is no answer to Communism. To be 'anti' is no answer to any problem."

"But what happened then? Have you stopped being a blue-eyed idealist?"

"In Caux I have found the ideology which gives the answer to division between East and West, which unites peoples of different nations and races, classes and religions, and which creates the society which is the answer to division and war. Communism is radical, but it is not radical enough. It wants to change systems but the ideology of MRA is fighting to change people."

"Then surely you ought to go to Prague?"

"Yes, if the western democracies could appear at the conference united in a common ideology which could really give an answer to Communism. But we cannot. We are divided, and this division is being exploited to the utmost by the Communists; they try indeed to divide us even more, for that is a part of their whole strategy. In the critical world situation I believe that the true loyalty to those who have elected me to travel to Prague will find its highest expression in what I have now seen as the only answer to the questions which will be dealt with in Prague."

XXVIII

THE FORGOTTEN FACTOR

The world première of The Forgotten Factor took place in the National Theatre, Washington, in May, 1944, under the sponsorship of a national committee of invitation whose Co-Chairmen were Senator Harry S. Truman and Congressman James W. Wadsworth, Republican Representative for New York. Since then it has played to audiences totalling 250,000 in the United States; 200,000 in Britain; 120,000 in Germany; 75,000 in South Africa; 36,000 in Norway, Sweden and Denmark; 35,000 in Switzerland; 32,000 in New Zealand; 30,000 in France; 27,000 in Finland; 25,000 in Canada; 8,000 in Australia.

Typical of the many invitations was that from New Zealand in 1949 from five Cabinet Ministers of the present and five Cabinet Ministers of the retiring Government and other leading citizens. The Hon. F. W. Doidge, Minister of External Affairs, speaking at a performance in Wellington, said on 21st February, 1950:

THE WORLD is really at war—a conflict terrifying and inescapable. It is the fight between good and evil, and that is the theme of the play—the war for the minds of men.

The aim of Moral Re-Armament is to fill the ideological

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vacuum. In this fight we face a vital truth. This is not merely a war for power but for men's minds and souls.

In that war, if we are to save the world, we have to realise that Moral Re-Armament is more important than the atom bomb.

The effects of the tour of The Forgotten Factor in New Zealand were assessed by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. K. J. Holyoake, in a message to the 1950 Moral Re-Armament World Assembly, in which he wrote:

In far-away New Zealand the play *The Forgotten Factor* was seen by many thousands in our four largest cities, and made a deep impression. That it was a lasting impression is now evident. In several of our cities management and workers are getting together in an endeavour to turn the theory of Moral Re-Armament into practice. As one of the national committee which sent the invitation for the play *The Forgotten Factor* to be staged in New Zealand, I feel gratified at the results already achieved. . . .

The ideals of Moral Re-Armament have such a universal application and are so wholesome and so practicable that they must have appeal to an ever-growing number of people everywhere. The message of good home life, teamwork in industry and a united nation, striving with God's guidance towards brotherhood, is a message of hope in a world where anxiety fills so many hearts. We cannot, we must not, neglect this chance to bring men together in a spirit of goodwill, to breathe new life into the body of democracy, to stir men and nations with a clarion call to united and co-operative action.

XXIX

LAUNCHING OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in June, 1938, at a reception given in his honour in East Ham Town Hall, cradle of the British Labour Movement, Dr. Frank Buchman launched Moral Re-Armament in the following speech:

THE WORLD'S CONDITION cannot but cause disquiet and anxiety. Hostility piles up between nation and nation, labour and capital, class and class. The cost of bitterness and fear mounts daily. Friction and frustration are undermining our homes.

Is there a remedy that will cure the individual and the nation and give the hope of a speedy and satisfactory recovery?

The remedy may lie in a return to those simple home truths that some of us learned at our mother's knee, and which many of us have forgotten and neglected—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

The crisis is fundamentally a moral one. The nations must re-arm morally. Moral recovery is essentially the forerunner of economic recovery. Imagine a rising tide of absolute honesty and absolute unselfishness sweeping across every country! What would be the effect? What about taxes? Debts? Savings? A wave of absolute unselfishness throughout the nations would be the end of war.

Moral recovery creates not crisis but confidence and unity in every phase of life. How can we precipitate this moral recovery throughout the nations? We need a power strong enough to change human nature and build bridges between man and man, faction and faction. This starts when everyone admits his own faults instead of spot-lighting the other fellow's.

God alone can change human nature.

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The secret lies in that great forgotten truth that when man listens, God speaks; when man obeys, God acts; when men change, nations change. That power active in a minority can be the solvent of a whole country's problems. Leaders changed, a nation's thinking changed, a world at peace with itself.

"We, the Remakers of the World"—is that not the thinking and willing of the ordinary man? The average man wants to see the other fellow honest, the other nation at peace with his own. We all want to get, but with such changed leaders we might all want to give. We might find in this new spirit an answer to the problems which are paralysing economic recovery.

Suppose everybody cared enough, everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough? There is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed.

Think of the unemployed thus released for a programme of Moral Re-Armament; everyone in the nation magnetised and mobilised to restore the nations to security, safety and sanity.

Every man, woman and child must be enlisted; every home become a fort. Our aim should be that everyone has not only enough of the necessities of life, but that he has a legitimate part in bringing about this Moral Re-Armament, and so safeguards the peace of his nation and the peace of the world.

God has a nation-wide programme that provides inspiration and liberty for all and anticipates all political programmes.

Every employed and unemployed man employed in Moral Re-Armament; this is the greatest programme of national service—putting everybody to work remaking people, homes and businesses. A Swedish steelworker told me: "Only a spiritual revolution goes far enough to meet the needs of men and industry."

A Labour leader said: "I have seen the Labour Movement triumph and felt in the midst of triumph an emptiness. The Oxford Group gave my life new content. I see in its message the only key to the future of the Labour Movement and of industry the world over."

Only a new spirit in men can bring a new spirit in industry.

CHALLENGE TO THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Industry can be the pioneer of a new order, where national service replaces selfishness, and where industrial planning is based upon the guidance of God. When Labour, Management and Capital become partners under God's guidance, then industry takes its true place in national life.

New men, new homes, new industry, new nations, a new world.

We have not yet tapped the great creative sources in the Mind of God. God has a plan, and the combined moral and spiritual forces of the nation can find that plan.

We can, we must and we will generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world.

XXX

CHALLENGE TO CONTEMPORARY WORLD

The booklet by the Rev. J. P. Thornton-Duesbery, Principal of Wycliffe Hall and formerly Master of St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, entitled "The Oxford Group, a Brief Account of its Principles and Growth", contains a foreword contributed by the following: Lord Ammon; Dr. M. E. Aubrey, then General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland; the late Viscount Bennett, former Prime Minister of Canada; Dr. Sidney M. Berry, then Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; the Rt. Rev. W. Purves Boyes, then Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England and Wales; Lord Courthope; Sir John Craig; the late Brig.-Gen. Sir Richard Fitzpatrick, former Chairman of the British Legion; the Bishop of Lichfield; Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, former President of the Uniting Conference of the Methodist Churches; Sir Lynden Macassey; Dr. John McKenzie, then Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Sir David Ross; Dr. John

THE WORLD REBUILT

White, former Moderator of the Church of Scotland. In their foreword they say:

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN TRUE of growing Christian movements that the greater the success they achieve in presenting the old truths of Christianity in a form that challenges the conditions of the contemporary world, the more is criticism, both ill-formed and ill-disposed, directed against them. Often indeed, such criticism is its own tribute to the power of the movement. . . .

Each one of us from our personal knowledge can affirm the Christian purposes of the Oxford Group. Some of us perhaps would be disposed to emphasise even more strongly than Mr. Thornton-Duesbery has done, the value in particular directions of the work which the Group is doing among all sections of the community in bringing Christianity into common life. But on one thing we are agreed, and that is the impressive contribution which the Group is making to the acceptance of the regenerating truths of Christ's religion by persons to whom before they were merely lifeless phrases.

Mr. Thornton-Duesbery also quotes from an address the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lang of Lambeth, gave to his clergy in July, 1934. The Archbishop said:

The Movement is most certainly doing what the Church of Christ exists everywhere to do. It is changing human lives, giving them a new joy and freedom, liberating them from the faults of temper, of domestic relationships, and the like, which have beset them, and giving them a real ardour to communicate to their fellow creatures what God has given them.

In 1938, the Archbishop sent the following message to Dr. Buchman on his sixtieth birthday:

I would like to send a message of congratulation to Dr. Buchman on the great work which he has been able to achieve in bringing multitudes of human lives in all parts of the world under the transforming power of Christ.

GREECE

XXXI

GREECE

When in November, 1949, His Majesty King Paul of the Hellenes conferred upon Dr. Frank Buchman the Order of Commander of the Royal Order of King George the First of Greece, His Excellency Mr. Panayotis Kanellopoulos, Minister of War and former Prime Minister, together with other distinguished representatives of Greece cabled Dr. Buchman:

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT correspond fully to Hellenic civilisation, ancient and present. Acknowledging your valuable services to world peace we associate our feelings with those of the Awarder of this Hellenic distinction, and express our warmest congratulations.

The signatories included:

PANAYOTIS KANELLOPOULOS

Minister of War, Leader of the National Union Party.

BASIL G. WOYLAS

Former Minister of Health.

GEORGE BACOPOULOS, M.P.

Populist Party, Deputy for Athens.

COSTAS CALLIAS, M.P.

Representative of Greece at Strasbourg.

GEORGE EXINTARIS

Former Minister, Greek Ambassador to Rome.

PETER GAROUFALIAS, M.P.

Democrat Socialist.

PANAYOTIS PAVLAKIS

Director General, Ministry of Labour.

SOTIRIS MARKETOS

Director, Ministry of Labour.

ALEXANDRA POUMPOURA, M.B.E.

THE WORLD REBUILT

In a message to the Caux Assembly in 1949, the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Themistocles Sophoulis, stated:

In the vanguard of the world struggle for human liberty, Greece fights on till peace with freedom is assured. Moral Re-Armament is the ideology of freedom which every nation needs to give it unity and strength. Your inspired work to transform and unite the world has my heartfelt support.

Mr. Kanellopoulos led Greek delegates at the tenth anniversary celebrations of Moral Re-Armament at Los Angeles in 1948. Speaking at the Hollywood Bowl, he declared: "Communism has been described as 'Darkness at Noon.' If this be so then Moral Re-Armament is 'Sunshine at Midnight.'"

A total of 213 Greek delegates have attended the Caux Assemblies since 1946. A special delegation of eighteen from Greece to the 1950 Assembly included workers, representatives of management and students. They travelled in an aircraft of the Greek Royal Air Force.

XXXII

AN ALTERNATIVE IDEOLOGY

On 2 October, 1950, at the conclusion of the 1950 World Assembly, The Times published the following summary by their Geneva Correspondent:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON Moral Re-Armament, which has been in conference at Caux since June, will end its session to-morrow.

Its purpose has been to outline and develop an alternative ideology to Marxist materialism sufficiently strong to unite the democratic world in answer to the Communist challenge. Some 8,000 delegates representing seventy nations visited the

AN ALTERNATIVE IDEOLOGY

headquarters at Caux during the summer to take part in the discussions. The British delegation included many trade union officials, dock workers from London, Merseyside, and the Clyde, and factory managers.

Two conferences were held within the General Assembly, the one on industrial peace, the other on security and defence. The purpose of the industrial conference was to discuss the infusion of a new dynamic and spiritual force into industrial and political relations. It was remarked that the Communists were adepts at influencing trade unions and parliamentary institutions by infiltration and propaganda. While it was not suggested that the same methods should be employed, many suggestions were put forward for new ideas on labour and industrial leadership to provide the workers with a sound alternative to Marxism. The class struggle, it was generally agreed, was out of date, and many delegates derided the notion that trade unions and management were of necessity hostile to one another.

MILITARY ASPECT

The military conference had under consideration the ideological aspects of national and international defence. It started from the principle that Powers at war to-day do not fight merely on the military front but on the ideological front as well. It was pointed out by one French general that apart from events in Korea and Indo-China nine nations in Eastern Europe and almost the whole of China had been absorbed without the armies of Russia being militarily involved. Nations called upon to fight must have a cause to fight for and must know what it was—for this the moral re-armament of each country was as necessary as military re-armament.

The problem facing the Moral Re-Armament movement seemed to emerge as the evolution of an ideology with an expansive power greater than that with which the democratic countries are confronted and forceful enough to cross the iron curtain, to be propagated by a world organisation of convinced and trained people.

XXXIII

WHAT ARE YOU LIVING FOR?

This address by Dr. Buchman was given on his birthday, 4th June, 1950, at a reception in his honour at the Hans Sachs Haus, Gelsenkirchen, Germany.

The gathering marked the climax of the twelfth anniversary celebrations of Moral Re-Armament held in the Ruhr at the invitation of five Minister-Presidents, including Herr Karl Arnold of North Rhine-Westphalia, then President of the Upper House of the Federal Parliament, and with the warm support of Dr. Adenauer, the Chancellor.

TWELVE YEARS AGO I walked in the woods of the Black Forest near Freudenstadt. The world was on the edge of chaos. Just as to-day, everyone longed for peace and prepared for war.

As I walked in those quiet woods one thought kept coming to me—"moral and spiritual re-armament, moral and spiritual re-armament. The next great movement in the world will be a movement of moral re-armament for all nations."

A few days later I was in London in the East End where the British Labour Movement began. The workers responded. Moral Re-Armament went to the world. The newspapers carried it, the radio. To-day, twelve years later, in many parts of the world people are gathering to plan for the Moral Re-Armament of their nations. The London workers are meeting in Poplar Town Hall with the dockers. In Birming-

WHAT ARE YOU LIVING FOR?

ham Town Hall labour and management from the British heavy industries and the coal mines are celebrating the day, and in Glasgow the Clydeside shipworkers.

In America my friends will be speaking on a two-way telephone conversation giving us news of the advance in America and hearing the news of what you have been doing here in Germany.

Messages have been coming in the last few days from Australia and New Zealand, from India, South Africa, America, from all parts of Europe, from Japan and the Far East. Typical of many is the following from the executive head of the Government Planning Commission of India, Gulzarilal Nanda: "Greetings from those of us who have pinned our faith on MRA to cure the ills of the world. Each year MRA is growing in world significance and in power. MRA will not have done its job till the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in every part of the world."

What is the secret behind the triumph of a God-given thought? What is it that has enabled an ordinary man like myself and hundreds of thousands of men and women across the world to do the extraordinary thing? Only the very selfish or the very blind person is content to leave the world as it is to-day. Most of us would like to change the world. The trouble is, too many of us want to do it our own way. Some people have the right diagnosis but they bring the wrong cure. They reckon without God and without a change in human nature, and the result is confusion, bitterness and war. Other people are quite sure they have the answer in theory, but they always want somebody else or some other nation to begin. The result is frustration and despair.

When the right diagnosis and the right cure come together, the result is a miracle. Human nature changes and human society changes.

Let me illustrate this with a personal word because it happened to me one day forty-two years ago. For the

THE WORLD REBUILT

first time I saw myself with all my pride, my selfishness, my failure and my sin. "I" was the centre of my own life. If I was to be different, then that big "I" had to be crossed out.

I saw the resentments I had against six men standing out like tombstones in my heart.

I asked God to change me and He told me to put things right with those six men. I obeyed God and wrote six letters of apology.

The same day God used me to change another man's life. I saw that when I obeyed God, miracles happened. I learnt the truth that when man listens, God speaks; when man obeys, God acts; when men change, nations change.

That was the revolutionary path I set my feet on forty-two years ago, which millions are treading now, and on which I challenge you to join me to-day.

What are you living for? What is your nation living for? Selfish men and selfish nations can drag the world to total disaster. A new type of man, a new type of statesmanship, a new type of national policy—that is our instant need, and this is the purpose for which Moral Re-Armament has come to birth.

A young Swiss engineer, successful in his profession, with family, friends, position and wealth, died this spring. He had discovered this same secret of investing his life and his possessions to create a new world based on change. He gave himself with his wife, who is with us to-day, and with his children, to make Caux the world centre it has become for all nations. Suddenly people have realised that in five short years he accomplished more for the world than many men in their whole lives.

This young Swiss followed in the steps of another young man who, 700 years ago, put aside fame and career and gave everything he had to change the world. He brought a new life to Europe and his life has inspired countless millions since then. He was St. Francis of Assisi. This young Swiss engineer, so his wife tells me, kept constantly by him these words of

WHAT ARE YOU LIVING FOR?

St. Francis; and they are the secret of how to change the world:

Lord, make me the instrument of Your peace.
Where there is hatred may I bring love;
Where there is malice may I bring pardon;
Where there is discord may I bring harmony;
Where there is error may I bring truth;
Where there is doubt may I bring faith;
Where there is despair may I bring hope;
Where there is darkness may I bring Your light;
Where there is sadness may I bring joy.

O, Master, may I seek not so much to be comforted as to
comfort,
To be understood as to understand,
To be loved as to love,
For it is in giving that we receive,
It is in losing our lives that we shall find them,
It is in forgiving that we shall be forgiven,
It is in dying that we shall rise up to eternal life.

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